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THE LIFE & DEATH OF HANNIBAL THE GREAT CAPTAIN OF THE CARTHAGINIANS,

Who maintained Wars againſt all the power of ROME for eighteen years together in ITALY.

AS ALSO

The LIFE and DEATH of EPAMINONDAS the GREAT CAPTAIN of the THEBANS,

Who was famous both for his Virtues and Valour.

By SA. CLARKE ſometime Paſtor in St *Bennet Finck*, London.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller* at the Guilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door. 1665.

View heere the case, [illegible]

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Licenſed

Roger L'eſtrange.

October 20.
1664.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF HANNIBAL THE GREAT.

Hannibal, the Son of *Amilcar* was about tweenty six years old, when he was choſen Generall of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army as ſoon as *Aſdrubal* (their late Generall) was dead, and the election was approved, and confirmed by the Senate of *Carthage*, wherewith *Hanno*, and his faction was nothing pleaſed. This was now the third of the *Barchine* Famely (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that commanded in chief over the men of War. *Hanno* therefore and his Partizans, being neither able to tax the Virtue of their enemies, nor to perform the like ſervices to the Common-wealth, had no-

Hannibal choſen General.

thing left whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehensions of War, and cautelous advise of not provoking the *Romans*: but they were little regarded. For the *Carthaginians* saw apparently, that the Oath of the *Romans* to the Articles of Peace, was like to hold no longer, than till the *Romans* could find some good advantage to renew the War. It was therefore rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst they were in a fit condition, the War should begin, rather than in some unhappy time of Famine or Pestilence, or after some great losse in their Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yeild to the impudent demands of their insulting enemies.

This disposition of his Citizens *Hannibal* well enough understood. Neither was he ignorant that in making War with the *Romans* it was no small advantage to get the start of them. Could he but bring his Army into *Italy*, he hoped to find Friends and assistance, even from those People, that helped to encrease the Armies of the *Romans*. But his design must be carried privately, or else it would be prevented. He resolved therefore to lay Siege to *Saguntum* in *Spain*, where he now was with his Army, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*.

He besieges, and takes many Townes.

Having resolved hereupon, neverthelesse he went orderly to work, beginning with those that lay next in his way. First therefore he entered into the Territory of the *Olcades*, and besieging *Althæa*, in a few dayes he became Master, not only of it, but of all the other Townes in their Country; and the Winter coming on, he rested his Army in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*, imparting liberally to his Souldiers of the Spoiles that he had gotten in his late Conquests.

In the Spring he made War upon the *Vaccæi*, and with little difficulty wan, first *Salamanca*, and after it *Arbucala*, though not without a long Seige and much difficulty: But in his return he was put to the height both

both of his Valour, and Prudence. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi* that could bear Armes, being made deſperate by the Spoile of their Country, with diverſe others that had eſcaped in the late overthrow, joyning with the *Toletans*, made up an Army of one hundred thouſand able men, waiting for *Hannibal* on the Banks of the River *Tagus*. They knew that he was very adventurous, and had never turned his back upon any enemy, and therefore hoped, that having him at ſuch an advantage, they ſhould eaſily have foiled him. But at this time our Great man of War, knew as well how to diſſemble his Courage, as at other times to make good uſe of it. For he withdrew himſelf from the River ſide, as ſeeming fearfull to paſſe over it, aiming thereby to draw over that great multitude from their Banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, as *Hannibal* expected and deſired, thinking that he retreated out of feare, thruſt themſelves in a diſordered manner into the River, to purſue him. But when *Hannibal* ſaw them well neare over, he turned back his Elephants to antertain them at their landing, and thruſt his Horſemen, both above and beneath them into the River, who by the advantage of their weapons ſlew almoſt all of thoſe in the River without reſiſtance, and then purſued the reſt, who being amazed, fled, and ſo he made a very great ſlaughter of them.

His Valour, and Policy.

His Victory.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the ſtorme drawing near to them, haſtened their Ambaſſadours to *Rome*, who complained that they were like to be undone, onely for their Friendſhip to the *Romans*. This ſo moved the Senate, that ſome would have War preſently proclaimed, both by Sea, and Land, and the two Conſuls ſent with Armies, one into *Spain*, the other into *Affrick*: But others went more ſoberly to work (according to the *Roman* gravity) whereby it was concluded, that Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spain*, to view the State of their Confederates.

Theſe Ambaſſadours found *Hannibal* at *Carthagena*, where

where they had Conference with him, who carried himſelf ſo reſervedly, that they departed, as doubtfull as they came. But whilſt they were paſſing to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared, not only his Forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences againſt *Saguntum*. For the *Tudetani*, who were neighbours to the *Saguntines*, complained to him of ſundry wrongs that they had received from them of *Saguntum*: Probably *Hannibal* himſelf had hatched ſome of them. Having therefore ſuch an occaſion, he ſat down with his whole Army before *Saguntum*. The *Romanes* were glad of the Quarrel, as hoping that *Carthage*, with all belonging thereto, would in ſhort ſpace become their own. Yet were they not haſty to threaten before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize untill they had an Army in readineſſe to be ſent into *Spain*, where they intended to make *Saguntum*, the ſeat of War.

He beſieges *Saguntum*.

In the beginning of *Hannibals* Siege, his *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged by reaſon of the brave Sallies which the *Saguntines* made upon them, in one of which *Hannibal* himſelf received a dangerous wound in the thigh that made him unable to ſtir for many dayes. Yet in the meantime he was not unmindfull of his buſineſſe, but gave order to build certain movable Towers that might equall thoſe upon the City walls, and to prepare to batter the Curtaines, and to make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoon wrought their deſired effect. A large breach was made by the fall of ſome Towers, whereat a hot aſſault was given: But it was ſo gallantly defended by the beſieged, that the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the City, which in the firſt fury they had wan, but they were purſued even to their own Trenches and Camp. Yet at length the *Carthaginian* Army (wherein were one hundred and fifty thouſand men) did ſo tire out the Townſmen by their continuall Allarms, that at length it gat into the Town, and had been Maſters of it, but that they were

were hindred by ſome Counter-works which the Beſieged had raiſed.

In this extreamity there was one *Alcon*, that came out of the City to treat with *Hannibal*, who would give no other tearmes but theſe hard ones, That they ſhould deliver up to him all the Gold, Silver, and Plate, and other Riches which they had in the City; That the Citizens ſhould leave the City, and take up ſuch other habitations as he ſhould appoint them; neither ſhould they carry any more out with them, ſave the cloaths on their backs. Theſe tearmes ſeemed ſo unreaſonable to *Alcon*, that he durſt not returne into the City to propound them to the Citizens. Yet might they far better have ſubmitted thereto, how hard ſoever, becauſe thereby they might have ſaved their lives, and the honour of their wives and Daughters, whereas, the City being ſhortly after taken by ſtorm, they ſaw their Wives and Daughters defloured before their faces, and all put to the Sword that were above fourteen years of age. The Treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* reſerved, therewith to pay his Army. The Slaves, and other booty, he divided amongſt his Souldiers, reſerving ſome choiſe things, wherewith to preſent his Friends at *Carthage*, to encourage them to the War.

Saguntum taken.

This news exceedingly vexed the *Romanes*, being angry at their own ſlowneſſe to ſend help to *Saguntum*, which held out eight moneths, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vain. Then did the *Romanes* ſend Ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, to demand whether this act were done by their conſents, or whether it were *Hannibals* preſumption alone? If they granted the former, they were to give them defiance. Anſwer was made them in the Senate of *Carthage* by one of the Senators, to this effect, That by this Meſſage the Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead Guilty, or not Guilt: That it belonged to them to call their own Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults; but to

Roman Ambaſſadors ſent to *Carthage*.

The *Carthaginians* anſwer.

the *Romanes* to challenge them if they had done any thing contrary to their late League and Covenant. *Its true* (said this Speaker) *that in our negotiations with* Luctatius *your Ambassador, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended, but the* Saguntines *were not then your Allies, and therefore no parties to the Peace then made: For of your Allies for the future, or of ours, there was no question: As for the last agreement between you and* Asdrubal, *wherein you will say that the* Saguntines *were comprehended, its you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty, between us and* Luctatius, *to your disadvantage, you said it was his presumption, as promising those things for which he had no Commission from your Senate: If then it be lawfull for you to disavow the Actions of your Ambassadors and Commanders, concluding any thing without precise Warrant from you; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to performe the contract that* Asdrubal *made for us, without our Command, and Consent.*

In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Romane* Ambassadors to tell them plainly the purposses of those that sent them? whereupon *Q. Fabius*, gathering up the skirt of his Gown, as if somthing had been in the hollow thereof, made this short reply; *I have herein my Gown-skirt both Peace and War; Make you (my Masters of the Senate) election which you will have.* All answered, even which of them you have a fancy to offer us. Then (quoth *Fabius*) *take War, and share it amongst you.* Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

War denounced by the *Romanes.*

War being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his Sword which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*, till he had therewith opened his passage to the Gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punick* War; indeed second to none that ever the People of *Rome* met with. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthagena*, giving license to his *Spanish* Soldiers to visit their Friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave Instructions to his Brother *Asdrubal* for the

the Government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order to send many Troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to supply the roomes of those *Affricans* which he had drawn into *Spain*, as also that the one Nation might remain as Pledges for the other. He selected also four thousand Foot, all young men, and Persons of quallity, out of the best Cities of *Spain*. which were to be Garisoned in *Carthage* it self, not so much to strengthen it, as that they might serve for Hostages, He also left with his Brother, to guard the Costs, and Ports, fifty seven Gallies, whereof thirty seven were ready Armed. Of *Africans* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, besides one and twenty Elephants. *Hannibal* prepares for *Italy*.

Having thus taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*, he sent some to discover the Passages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines that part *Spain* from *France*; and of the *Alps*, that part *France* from *Italy*. He sent Ambassadors to the inhabitants of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls* to obtain a quiet passage, that he might bring his Army intire into *Italy*. These being returned with good satisfaction; In the begining of the Spring he passed over the River of *Iberus* with an Army of ninety Thousand Foot, and twelve Thousand Horse.

All those parts of *Spain* which had not before been entered, he now subdued; and appointed one *Hanno* to Governe *Spain* on the East side of *Iberus*, with whom he left ten Thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse. When he came to the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Soldiers returned home without asking leave; which, that others also might not attempt, he courteously dismissed such as were willing to be gone: Hereby the Journey seemed the lesse tedious to such as accompanied him voluntarily. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty Thousand Foot, and nine Thousand Horse, he passed the *Pyrenes*, and entered into *Gaul* He Conquers much of *Spain*.

His passage through *France.*

Gaul (now *France:*) But he found the *Gauls* bounding upon *Spain* ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Country; but with gentle Speech, and rich Presents, which he sent to their Leaders, he wan them to favour his expedition. So without any other molestation, he came to the Banks of *Rhodanus*, where dwelt on each side of the River a People called *Volcæ*. These being unacquainted with the cause of his coming, sought to stop his passage over the water: But he was greatly assisted by those of *Vivarets*, and *Lionois*: for though many of them had transported themselves, and their goods into *Daulphine*, thinking to defend the Banks against him; yet such as remained, being willing to free their Country from such unwelcome Guests, they helped him to make Boats: informed him of a better passage higher up the River, and sent him Guides.

He is opposed.

When his Boats were ready, he sent *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River to the Foard, and himself in the mean time made a shew of entering the Foard below, that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* on their own side, and himself at the same time passing the River in their faces, might win the further Bank, which was done accordingly, though with some difficulty, and thereby the enemies were dispersed.

His Victory in *France.*

Having passed this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River and those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Cisalpine-Gauls*, that inhabited *Piemont*, and *Milan*, who had lately revolted from the *Romanes*. These informed him that the passage over the *Alps* was not so difficult as report made it, and gave him Guides, with many other encouragements. Yet fouud he himself extreamly encombred by the *Savoyards*, and lost more of his Carriages and *Carthaginians* than he could well spare. For he was twice strongly assaulted by them before he could recover the plaines on the other side. He was fifteen dayes passing over the *Alps*, wherein, besides the trouble of his enemies,

Some *Gauls* incourage him.

He passeth the *Alps.*

mies, he was much aſſaulted by ſoule weather, and Snow, it being now the begining of Winter. But the fair and fertile plaines which they now were entring into, with the aſſiſtance, and encouragment of the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, gave them much comfort, having nothing elſe of difficulty remaining, but that which from the begining they made account to overcome by their proper valour and reſolution, namely the *Romane* Armies and reſiſtance.

The *Romane* Ambaſſadours who had denounced War at *Carthage*, in their return homewards, took *Spain* in their way, with a purpoſe to draw into their Alliance as many Cities, and Princes as they could: The firſt that they attempted were the *Volcians*, from whom they received this anſwer: that they would never joyn with them who had forſaken the *Sagintines* in their greateſt need; and that themſelves had found the *Carthaginians* ſuch good neighbours, that they meant ſtill to adhere to them. From *Spain* the Ambaſſadours paſſed through *Gaul*, perſwading them not to ſuffer *Hannibal* to paſſe through their Countery, and gloried much in their own ſtrength: But the *Gauls* laughed them to ſcorn, and had ſcarce patience to hear them ſpeak: Telling them that they meant not to ſet their own Houſes on Fire to ſave the *Romanes* from burning; That the *Carthaginians* had never offended them as the *Romanes* had done, who had already forced ſome of them out of their habitations, and made others Tributaries, who were as free as themſelves.

With theſe unpleaſing anſwers the Ambaſſadours returned home; carrying no good newes of friends like to help them, but rather that the *Gauls* intended to take part with their enemies. And accordingly when the *Ciſalpine-Gauls* heard that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were marching towards *Rome*, the *Boij*, and *Inſubrians* roſe up againſt the *Romans*: Their quarrel was the late planting of *Roman* Colonies at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore

The *Gauls* riſe againſt the *Romans*,

fore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they thought to be at hand, laying aside all regard of those Hostages, that they had lately given to the *Romans*, they fell upon those Colonies. The Towns they could not win, but they forced the *Romane* Comissioners, which were abroad, to fly into *Modena*, where they besieged them. But the *Gauls*, having little skill in besieging Cities, grew weary, and were desirous of Peace: This they did on purpose to draw on some meeting, that laying hands on the *Romane* Deputies, they might with them redeem their Hostages; and it fell out in part according to their wish: For Ambassadours comming to them from *Rome* to treat with them, they made them Prisoners. *Manlius* the *Prætor*, hearing of this outrage, marched with his Army to relieve the besieged. But the *Gauls* laid an Ambush in his way, that falling upon him, utterly routed him, and slew most of his Army except a few that escaped into a defensible place upon the River *Po*. This being heard of at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, the other *Prætor*, hasted with an other Army to relieve the besieged.

They besiege *Modena*.

But as the *Gauls* were too hasty, so the *Romans* were too slow in the begining of this War. For they could not believe that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities from them in the late peace, durst be so bold on a suddain as to attempt the Conquest of *Italy* itself. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make War in *Spain*, and the other in *Africk*. *Titus Sempronius* went into *Africk*, with one hundred and sixty Gallies of five to an Oare, which preparations seemed to threaten *Carthage* her self. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, hasted towards *Spain*, and by the way, touching at *Massilia*, he was there informed, that *Hannibal* had passed the River *Rhodanus*, whom he had thought to have found busy in *Spain*. *Hannibal* also heard of the Consuls arrivall, with whom he meant to have nothing to do. Yet both sent forth Scouts, *Hannibal* sent out five hundred *Numidians*,

The *Romans* send an Army into *Spain*.

midians, and *Scipio* three hundred of his beſt Horſe. They met, and fought, and the *Romans* had the better of it. But when *Scipio* drew neer, thinking to have met with the *Carthaginians*, he found that they were gone three dayes before with an intent to ſee the Walls of *Rome*.

Scipio hereupon ſent his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* into *Spain*, with the greateſt part of the Army againſt *Aſdrubal*, and himſelf with the choiſeſt, returned back, and landing at *Piſa*, he marched through *Tuſcany*, and *Lumbardy*, where he drew together the broken Bands of *Manlius*, and *Atilius*, who were lately beaten by the *Gauls*, intending therewith to oppoſe the enemy, thinking to find them tired with their long Journey.

Five moneths *Hannibal* had ſpent in that tedious march from *Carthagena*. When he had paſſed *Rhodanus*, he had in his Army but thirty eight thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, the reſt having periſhed with Diſeaſes, Enemies, Rivers, and Mountaines. Having newly paſſed the *Alps*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Army in *Piemont*, he ſought the friendſhip of the *Taurini*, who being at this time in War with the *Inſubrians*, (his good Friends) the *Taurini* refuſed it, whereupon he beſieged their chiefe Town, and in three dayes wan it, the ſpoil whereof did much incourage his Army, and the others Calamity terrified their Neighbours. Moſt of thoſe parts would willingly have joyned with *Hannibal*, but when the Conſul *Scipio* came amongſt them, they began to be better adviſed. This wavering affection amongſt the People, made the Generals to haſten to a Battel. Their meeting was at *Ticinum* [now *Pavia*] where each of them wondred at the others expedition.

Hannibals loſſes in his march.

The Senate at *Rome* were much amazed at *Hannibals* arrival in *Italy*: wherefore they ſent preſently to *Sempronius*, and the other Conſul, now in *Sicily*, to give him notice of it, and to require him ſpeedily to return

Hannibal prepares to fight.

turn with his Army for the ſafegard of *Italy*, which accordingly he did. *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were now ſo near, that fight they muſt ere they could part, and therefore each of them encouraged their Souldiers by the beſt arguments they had: *Hannibal* aſſuring his men that there was no mean betwixt *Victory* and *Death*.

A Battel.

When the Armies approached near each to other, *Scipio* ſent forth his Horſemen of the *Gauls* to begin the fight, lining them with his Darters for their aſſiſtance; himſelf with his men at Armes followed ſlowly in good order. The *Gauls*, being in their Generals ſight, behaved themſelves gallantly, and were as bravely oppoſed; but their Darters at the very firſt, ran cowardly away without caſting a Dart, for fear of being trodden down by the enemies Horſe. Yet did the *Gauls* maintain it ſtoutly, and did more hurt than they received: neither was *Scipio* unmindfull to relieve them; wherefore he adventured himſelf ſo far, that he received a dangerous wound, and had there periſhed if his Son (afterwards called *Africanus*) had not brought him off. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſy in helping their Conſul, an unexpected ſtorm aſſailed them at their backs: *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* Horſemen to charge the *Romans* in their Flank, and to compaſs them about, whilſt he, with his men at Arms ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* preformed it well, cutting in pieces the ſcattered Foot that ran away at the firſt encounter, and then falling on the backs of thoſe that charged *Hannibal*, by this impreſſion the *Romans* were ſhufled together and routed, betaking themſelves to their heels, and leaving to their enemies the honour of the day.

The *Romans* beaten.

Scipio perceiving how things were like to goe, almoſt ſtole the Retreat with moſt of his Footmen yet unbroken, and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*: but notwithſtanding his haſt, he loſt ſix hundred of his men which brought up his Reare, and ſhould have broken down

down the Bridge. It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could paſſe the River: *Scipio* in the mean time refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his wound in *Placentia*: But when *Hannibal* preſented them Battel again, and they durſt not accept of it, the *Gauls*, which before aſſiſted the *Romans* out of fear, took courage and left them, and thinking that now the time was come for the recovery of their liberty, that night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp, wounded and ſlew many, eſpecially of thoſe that kept the Guard, with whoſe Heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſervice: *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and ſent them to their own homes that they might preſwade the reſt of the Nation to become his confederates.

The *Gauls* forſake the *Romans*.

The ſame night the Conſul ſtole a retreat as he had done before, but not with the like ſucceſſe: For *Hannibal* had an eye upon him, and ere he was gone far, he ſent his *Numidians* after him, and himſelf followed with the Body of his Army. Then had the *Romans* received a great blow, but the *Numidians*, greedy of prey, fell to ranſacking their Camp, and thereby gave them liberty of eſcaping, only ſome in the Reare were either ſlain or taken Priſoners. *Scipio* being unable to travel by reaſon of his wound, and judging it meet to ſtay for the coming of his fellow Conſul, entrenched himſelf ſtrongly upon the Banks of the River *Trebia*; which ſo diminiſhed his reputation, that every day more of the *Gauls* fell to *Hannibal*, amongſt whom came in the *Boij*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners: Hitherto they had keept them as pledges wherewith to recover their own Hoſtages; but now they delivered them to *Hannibal* as tokens of their affection to him. *Hannibal* being in great want of victuals, he attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, wherein the *Romans* had laid all their Store, and Amunition, and a *Brunduſian*, that had the keeping of it, ſurrendred it to him for a little money.

Hannibal beates the Conſul.

He wins *Claſtidium*.

The newes of theſe diſaſters coming to *Rome*, filled the Senate, and People with a deſire of revenge, their Foot wherein their greateſt ſtrength lay, being yet entire: they therefore haſted away *Sempronius* with his Army, who by ſpeedy marches came to *Scipio* upon the Banks of *Trebia*. The Conſuls took counſel what was fitteſt to be done, now that their Armies were conjoyned: *Sempronius*, was eager to fight before *Scipio* recovered of his wound, that he might get the whole glory of the Victory: He alſo feared the election of new Conſuls, his time being almoſt expired: But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary by many arguments: yet would not *Sempronius* be taken off, wherewith *Hannibal* was exceedingly pleaſed, who feared nothing ſo much as delayes. To further the deſire of *Sempronius*, the *Gauls* that inhabited near to *Trebia*, complained of injuries done to them by the *Carthaginians*. Indeed they neglected to ſupply *Hannibal* with neceſſaries, and therefore he was bold to be his own Carver. Hereupon *Sempronius* ſent forth a thouſand Horſe, which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibals* Forragers, who were heavy laden, they cut many of them in pieces, and chaſed the reſt even to their Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* to ſally out, who cauſed them to retire faſter than they came: *Sempronius* relieved his own men, and *Hannibal* did the like: So that at length the *Roman* Army was drawn forth, and Battel offered, if the *Carthaginians* had not refuſed it.

Hannibals Forragers beaten.

This Victory (for ſo the Conſul would name it) made the *Romans* very deſirous to try it out in open Field, notwithſtanding *Scipios* diſwaſion from it. This *Hannibal* was informed of by the *Gauls* that were in the *Roman* Camp: therefore he reſolved to ſecure the Victory by adding a Stratagem to his forces. He found in a hallow place overgrown with Reeds, a fit trench to cover an Ambuſh: Therein he caſt his Brother *Mago* with a thouſand choiſe Horſe, and as many Foot. The reſt of his Army, when he had well fed, and refreſh-

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ed them, he led into the Field and marched towards the Conſuls. Early in the morning he had ſent over the River ſome *Numidian* Horſmen to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad Dinner before he had broken his Faſt. *Sempronius* readily embraced the oportunity of fighting, and forthwith ſent over the River, in a miſerable cold day, his Footmen, who were almoſt to the armeholes, which together with the want of food, did much enfeeble them: The *Romans* were ſtrong in Foot, having in all thirty ſix thouſand: the Maſſe of thoſe were ranged in a groſſe Battalion, guarded on the Flanks with three thouſand Horſe, thruſting their light-armed and Darters in looſe Companies before the reſt in the nature of a Vauntguard. The *Carthaginians* equalled them in Foot, and exceeded them in Horſe: when therefore the *Roman* Horſe were broken by the *Numidians*: when their Foot were charged, both in Front and Flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and Elephants, and when all were preſſed in the Reare by *Mago* and his men out of the Ambuſh, then fell the *Romans* by heaps under their enemies Swords, and were beaten down as well fighting as flying, ſo that of thirty ſix Thouſand, there eſcaped no more than ten thouſand of all ſorts.

Another Battel.

The *Romans* beaten.

The remainder of this broken Army was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*, ſtealing away the ſame night, which was very rainy. *Sempronius* eſcaped with great danger, and fled to *Rome*, where he did his Office in chooſing new Conſuls for the year following, and then returned to his Province with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

The Winter proved very ſharp, and unfit for ſervice, which well pleaſed the *Romans*, who lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet did not *Hannibal* ſuffer them to lie very quiet, but vexed them with continual Alarms, aſſaulting divers places, and taking ſome. He alſo wan the *Lygurians* to him, who, to teſtifi-

their faithfull love, presented him with two *Roman Questors*, [Treasurers,] two Collonels, and five young Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators. These and all his other Prisoners, *Hannibal* held in streight places, loaden with Irons, and misserably fed. But their followers he intreated courteously, and sent them to their own Countries without ransome, protesting that he undertook the War in *Italy* to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these meanes he drew many to his party, and assistance. But some of the *Gauls*, fearing that their Country should be made the seat of War, conspired against his Life: others discovered the danger to him, who yet, soon after, were ready to practice the same; which enforced *Hannibal* to use Perukes and false Beards the better to conceal himself from them.

Hannibals Policy.

Treacheries against him.

At length when Summer was come, he resolved to leave these giddy Companions and so passed the *Appenine* Hills that he might approach nearer to *Rome*. So away he went having his Army much recruted with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; and to prevent the obstructions in the ordinary way, he chose to travel through the *Fennes* of *Tuscany*. In those Marshes and Bogs he lost all his Elephants save one, with one of his own eyes, through the moistnesse of the Aire, and by lodging on the cold Ground: Yet at last with much ado, he recovered the firme and fertile Plaines, and Quartered about *Arretium*, where he somwhat refreshed his weary Army, and heard newes of the *Romane* Consuls.

His dangerous march.

C. Flaminius and *Cn. Servilius*, were newly chosen Consuls for this year: The first a tractable man, wholly governed by the Senate; the other a hotheaded man, who fearing some obstruction, gat him out of the City before the day of Election, that he might, as soon as he was chosen, take possession of his Office: fearing least he should lose his Honour, which he hoped to gain in the War. The Senators were so displeased at this, that they sent for him back; but he neglected their Command,

mand, and hasted to meet with the *Carthaginians*, whom he found at *Arretium*.

Hannibal was well pleased with the fiery disposition of this Consul: and therefore provoked him by many indignities, hoping thereby to draw him to fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. For which end he put to Fire and Sword all the Country round about him, even under the Consuls nose. By this *Flaminius* thought his Honour to be much empaired, and therefore advanced towards the enemy. Many advised him to stay for his Colleague, but he would not be perswaded: Then he commanded the Army to march.

All the Territory of *Cortona* as far as to the Lake of *Thrasymene* was on a light fire, which, whilst *Flaminius* thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell, with his whole Army into an Ambush: from thence he was charged unaware from all sides, so that he knew not which way to turne, nor how to make resistance. There was he slain in that place, accompanied with the carcasses of fifteen thousand of his Countrymen: About six thousand of his Vantguard took courage out of desparation, and breaking through their enemies, they recovered the tops of the Mountains: but being discovered there, *Maharbal* was sent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, and surrounded them with his Horse, and so they yielded, rendering up their Armes upon promise of life and liberty. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme, and so made them all Prisoners.

The *Romans* beaten again.

At this time he had about fifteen thousand Prisoners: all that were not *Romans* he set free without ransome, still portesting, that for their sakes he came into *Italy*: But the *Romans* he kept in streight Prison, and held them to hard meat.

Presently after the Battell of *Thrasymene*, *C. Sempronius*, with four thousand Horse came neere to *Hanaibals* Camp.

Camp. He was sent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius*, the other Consul, to encrease the strength of *Flaminius*, but coming too late, he only encreased the misadventure. *Hannibal* sent out *Maharbal* to intercept him, who finding them amazed at the ill newes of the late losse, charged, and brake them, killing almost half of them, and drew the rest simply to yeild to mercy. *Servilius* hearing of the overthrow and death of his Colleague, hasted to *Rome* for the defence of it.

The *Romans* beaten.

Great fear at *Rome*.

Greatly were the *Romans* amazed at these disasters, and their aproaching danger. Wherefore they had recourse to a remedy which had been long out of use, and that was, to choose a *Dictator*, whose power was above the Consuls, and scarcely subject to the Controll of the whole City: And now they chose *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the best reputed man of War in the City, and *Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus*, Master of the Horse, who was as the *Dictators* Leiutenant.

A *Dictator* chosen.

The first act of *Fabius* was the reformation of somewhat that was amisse in matter of Religion: then were the Walls and Towers of *Rome* repaired, and fortified, the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for the defence of *Rome* it self. Four Legions the *Dictator* raised in hast, and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* had conducted thither. With these he marched apace after *Hannibal*, not to fight, but to affront him. He always lodged upon high grounds, and of hard accesse, knowing that the *Roman* Horse were far inferior to the *Numidians*. *Hannibal* in the mean while pursued his Victory, and ranged over all the Countries, using all manner of cruelty towards the Inhabitants, especially those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he put all to the Sword that were able to bear Armes. Passing by *Spoletum*, and *Ancona*, he encamped upon the *Adriatick* shores, refreshing his diseased and over-traveled Army: and armed his *Africans*, after the *Roman* manner, and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his Friends, (which

Fabius his warinesse.

which were very many) with part of the Spoils that he had gotten.

Having refreshed his Army, cured his wounded, and fed his Horses, he followed the course of the *Adriatick* Shore towards *Apulia*, a Northen Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, spoiling all that lay in his way. Yet took he not one City in all those Countries. Indeed he assaied *Spoletum*, but finding it well defended, he presently gave it over. All his care was to weaken the *Romans* in force and reputation; knowing that when he was absolute Master of the Field, it would not be long before the walled Cities would open their Gates to him. To this end he presented *Fabius* with Battel, and provoked him with all manner of bravado's; but *Fabius* would not bite: His design was to attend the *Carthaginians* so neere as to keep them from straggling, and to preserve the Country from utter spoil. Thus by degrees he inured his men to dangers, and brought them first to look on the Lion afar off, that at length they might adventure to sit on his taile.

Hannibals Policy.

Fabius his wisdom.

But *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*, taxing *Fabius* with cowardlinesse and fear; yet nothing moved this wary *Dictator*: He suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apennine* Mountaines, and to fall upon the rich and pleasent Territories of *Campania*: *Fabius* still keeping upon the Hils, and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw that he could by no means draw him to fight, and that the Winter drew on, he resolved to rest his Army that was loaden with spoil, in some safe and plentiful Country till the Spring came again. But before he could do this, he must passe along by the *Dictators* Camp, that hung over his head: For there was no other way for him to get out of this fertile Country which he had already wasted. But by the errour of his Guid he was brought (as it were) into a pinfold. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to be admired, and aplauded, as if he had caught the *Carthaginians* in a trap. But *Hannibal* freed himself by a fine inventi-

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Hinnibals Stratagem.

on: He had gotten about two thouſand Kine, upon whoſe Hornes he tied dry Fagots, and in the dark night ſeting them on fire, he cauſed them to be driven up the Hill. The ſight was ſtrange and terrible to the *Romans*, and *Fabius* himſelf thinking it to be a deviſe to circumvent him, kept within his Trenches. So *Hannibal* and his Army eſcaped the danger, and gat into a ſafe Country. Then did he make ſemblance of marching towards *Rome*, the *Dictator* coaſting him after the wonted manner; and keeping ſtill on the high grounds betwixt him and the City, whilſt the *Carthaginians* waſted all the plain Countries, and taking *Geryon* in *Apulia*, he turned it into Barnes and Storehouſes for the Winter, and encamped under the broken Walls. Thus little was done till the *Dictator* was called home to *Rome* about ſome buſineſſe of Religion; and when he went, he left the Army in charge with *Minutius*, the Maſter of the Horſe.

Minutius was glad of this oportunity to ſhew his ſufficiency. He was perſwaded that the *Romans* in plain field would beat the *Carthaginians*, who had got the former Victories by ſubtilty, and ambuſhes. All the Army was of his opinion, and therefore they perferred his forwardneſſe before the cold warineſſe of *Fabius*: Hereupon he reſolved to fight, though he had been peremtorily forbidden by the *Dictator*, and the breach of whoſe command was Death: But *Minutius* thought that the honour of the Victory, and love of the Army, would ſecure him. *Hannibal* on the other ſide was very glad that he ſhould play with a more adventurous Gamſter: therefore he drew neer, and provoked the *Romans*, ſending forth a third part of his Army to waſt the Country. There was a piece of high and advantageous Ground between the two Armies: *Hannibal* ſent two thouſand Horſe to ſeize upon it: but *Minutius* by fine force, won it from them, and encamped upon it, whereby he became a nearer neighbour to *Hannibal*.

Minutius

Minutius for many dayes not ſtirring, *Hannibal* ſent forth many of his men to fetch in Harveſt. This advantage *Minutius* wiſely eſpied, and therefore drawing forth his Army, preſented Battel to *Hannibal*, but he was not now in caſe to accept of it; wherefore *Minutius* ſent out ſome againſt the Forragers, who were ſcattered all over the Fields, and loaden with Booty, and ſo were eaſily overthrowne. It angred *Hannibal* that he was not able to help them, but it angred him worſe when the *Romans* tooke heart to aſſault his Trenches. But in the heat of this buſineſſe *Aſdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thouſand Horſe, which emboldned *Hannibal* to iſſue forth againſt the *Romans*, to whom he did not ſo much hurt as he had received.

Hannibal Forragers beaten.

For this piece of ſervice *Minutius* was highly honoured by the Army, and more cryed up by the People at *Rome*, all judging him more worthy of Command than *Fabius*. But the *Dictator* was not ſo joyfull of the newes, as angry that *Minutius* had diſobeyed his command. He ſaid, that he knew his own place, and that he would teach the Maſter of the Horſe to know it alſo; and that he would make him give an account for what he had done in his abſence. The People much diſliked theſe his ſpeeches, and made an Act, that *Minutius* ſhould be joyned in equall authority with the *Dictator*.

Minutius made equall with *Fabius*.

Before this Buſineſſe was effected, *Fabius* ſeeing how things were like to go, diſpatched the election of a new Conſul in the roome of *Flaminius*, and having finiſhed his buſineſſe, went out of the City towards his Army. But the newes of *Minutius* his advancement was at the Camp as ſoon as he, ſo that his Lieutenant treated with him now as his Colleague, asking him how they ſhould devide their authority: *Fabius* briefly told him, that ſeeing the Citizens had made the Maſter of the Horſe equal with the *Dictator*, he would divide the Legions with him by Lot, according to the cuſtome:

Minutius was ill pleased with this, for with half the Army he could not work such wonders as he hoped for. Yet meant he to do his best: and so taking half the Army, he encamped about a mile and a half from *Fabius.*

It behoved the Master of the Horse to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him; therefore he sought good occasion to fight, to which *Hannibal*, was as forward as he. The Country between them was open and bare, yet *Hannibal* found meanes to lay an ambush in it: For the sides of the valley had many spacious Caves, and *Hannibal* in the night, thrust into them five hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot: and least they should be discovered, he made offer betimes in the morning to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other side from the Caves, thereby turning all their eyes that way. *Minutius* hoping to increase his honour as he had gotten it, sent first his light Armuture, then his Horse, and at length he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so invironed on all hands, that he neither knew how to make resistance, nor a safe retreate. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves, they lost many of their best men. But *Fabius* drew neer in good order to relieve them, and doing therein the office of a good Citizen, regarding more the good of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained.

A Battel

The *Romans* beaten.

Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: *Fearing* (as he said) *to be well wet with the cloud that had hung so long upon the Hil-tops.* *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*, by whose favour he acknowledged, that his life was preserved. Thence forward the War went on slowly whilst *Fabius* his *Dictatorship* lasted, and the year following also when he had delivered up his charge to the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear

hear the great commendations which were given to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens, becauſe the War was not finiſhed, nor much done tending thereto: And this affection was very helpfull to *Terentius Varro* in his ſuit for the Conſulſhip; and farther to help him, he had a kinſman, *Bibius Herennius*, Tribune of the People: He boldly affirmed that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and ſuffered there to range at his pleaſure by the Noblemen; that without a Plebeian Conſul the War would never be ended, *&c.* By which perſwaſions the multitude were won to be wholly for *Terentius*, to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure ſuch an upſtart: But nothing could hinder the choiſe of *Terentius*: Wherefore the Nobles, (to ballaſt this hot-headed man) ſet up *L. Æmilius Paulus*, a gallant man and a brave Captain, to ſtand for the other Conſuls place, and he eaſily carried it.

Theſe new Conſuls, *Varro*, and *Paulus*, omitted nō diligence in preparing for the War, wherein, though *Varro* made the greater noiſe, boaſting what wonders he would do if he could but once ſee *Hannibal*, yet the care, and Prudence of *Paulus* did tend much more towards the effecting of it. He wrote to the two old Conſuls to forbear fighting, and yet to ply the *Carthagians* with daily Skirmiſhes, and ſo to weaken them by degrees, that when he and his Fellow Conſul came with the new Army, they might find the four old Legions well accuſtomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakned. Theſe new Conſuls raiſed an Army of above eighty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe.

Hannibal all this while lay at *Geryon*, where all his proviſion, and ſtore was. The *Romanes*, to be neer him, lodged about *Canuſium*, laying up moſt of their proviſions in the Caſtle of *Cannæ*. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furniſhed himſelf, but compelled his enemies to want many neceſſaries: Hereby he alſo enabled himſelf to ſtay in that open Country, fit

Cannæ Caſtle taken.

fit for the service of the Horse. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, it then seemed needfull to them to adventure a Battell with the *Carthaginian*, rather than to suffer him thus to root himself in *Italy*.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodius, the two Consuls, with their Army set forward against *Hannibal*. This was done with great solemnity: Sacrifices and solmne Vowes were made to *Jupiter* and the other Gods, for good successe and Victory: and the Generals were accompanied with a great number that brought them out of the City, and dismissed them with Friendly leave-taking, and good wishes.

These new Generals arriving at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius*, one of the last years Consuls, because of his age, and retained *Servilius* with them, as their Assistant. *Æmilius* laboured to encourage his men, telling them, that the enemy had stole all the former Victories by his Ambushes; that otherwise the *Romans* were far beyond them in Valour *&c.* and therefore he exhorted them to play the men and to do their best. This set them on fire to be dealing with the *Carthaginians*, and herein *Varro* concurred with them, longing for an oportunity to get the honour which he promised to himself, having now such a numerous Army By this means the *Romans* fell into a great inconvenience by the disagreement of of their Generals; *Varro* would fight, and *Æmilius* would not for the present, hoping for better advantage ere long, when the enemy should be forced to dislodge out of the plain Country. The Consuls command in in turnes every day. *Æmilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal* where the ground was uneven. *Terentius* the next day descended into the plaines, his Colleague beseeching him to stay, but could not prevaile. He sat down neer to the *Carthaginian*, who yet gave him but a rude welcome, and intertainment. The *Cathaginian* Horse, and light Armature fell upon the *Roman* Vant-Courriers,

Varro makes hast to fight.

Courriers, and put the whole Army into a tumult, whilſt it was yet in its march; but the *Carthaginians* were beaten off, though not without loſſe. The next day *Æmilius*, who could not ſecurely draw back the Army, encamped upon the River *Aufidus*, ſending part of his Forces over the River where they encamped themſelves, with the reſt he fortified and kept within his Trenches. *Varro* was perſwaded that it concerned him in honour to make good his word to the People of *Rome*. When therefore it was his turne to Command, at the break of Day he began to paſſe the River, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow: But *Paulus* came to him, labouring by all meanes to diſſwade him. *Terentius* had nothing to anſwer but that his honour was engaged. *Hannibal* had twice or thrice braved them, which muſt not be endured. When *Æmilius* perceived that he could not prevaile, he was carefull that what muſt be done, might be done well. Ten thouſand Foot he cauſed to be left behind in the Camp, oppoſite to the *Carthaginians*, to the intent that *Hannibal* might be forced to do the like, or elſe when they were in fight, theſe might fall upon his Camp, and take it, with all the wealth therein, which would much diſtract the *Carthaginians*. This done the Conſuls drew forth their Army over the Water, and ranged them in order of Battell.

They prepare to fight.

This *Hannibal* was very glad of, and therefore without any delay, paſſed over the River alſo, leaving in his own Camp enow to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men, he told them how fit the ground was wherein they were to fight; and that therefore they were to thank the Gods who had ſo infatuated the enemies as to chooſe ſuch a place where the ſtronger in Horſe was ſure to pervail. Beſides (ſaid he) *Theſe are the men whom you have beaten as often as you have ſeen them: and now you are to fight for their Cities, and all the Riches that are in them, and ere many houres paſſe ye ſhall be Lords of all that the* Romans *enjoy*. This ſet his men on fire to be at it;

it; and at the same time came his Brother *Mago*, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy, to whom he said, *What newes? What worke are we like to have?* Work enough, answered *Mago*, for they are a horrible company; As horrible a many as they be, said *Hannibal*, I tell thee that amongst them all, there is not one man whose name is *Mago*, and therewith he fell a laughing, which all the Souldiers also took for a good Omen.

The great Battel at *Cannæ*.

In this great day the *Carthaginian* excelled himself, expressing abundance of Military skill, and of greatnesse of spirit, and courage. He so marshalled his Army, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do the best service. His Darters, and Slingers he sent before to encounter the *Roman Velites*: His *Africans* Armed after the *Roman* manner, made the two Wings, very deep in File. Between these he ranged the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* armed, the first with broad Swords, and the other with short and well- pointed Blades. The *Gauls* were strong of Body, and furious in giving the Charge, but soon wearied, spending their violence at the first brunt. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager but more wary. These *Hannibal* caused to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, if they were overhardly pressed. Between the left Batallion by the River side, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* Horse under *Asdrubal*: On the right Wing was *Maharbal* with the *Numidian* Horse. *Hannibal* himself with his Brother *Mago*, led the Rear. His Army this day was ten Thousand Horse, and fourty Thousand Foot: His enemies had two to one against him in Foot, and he five to three against them in Horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled after their usuall manner. On the right hand were the *Roman* Horsemen under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left Wing was *Varro* with the rest of the Horse which were of the *Latines* and other associates, and *Servilius* had the leading of the battel.

Battel. The Sun was newly riſen, and offended neither part, the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, and the *Romans* Southward.

After ſome light Skirmiſhes between the two Forlorns, *Aſdrubal* brake in upon the Conſul *Paulus*, and after a rough charge, and much execution done, the *Roman* Horſe were overborn, and driven by plain force to a ſtaggering recoil. When the Battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and more than enough to break that Body upon which at firſt they fell; yet at laſt *Hannibals* men were forced to a haſty retreat. But whilſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed Victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby engaged themſelves deeply within the principal ſtrength of the enemy, the two *African* Battalions on either ſide, advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they almoſt wholly incloſed them. *Aſdrubal* having broken the Troops of the *Roman* Horſe, followed them along upon the River ſide, beating downe, and killing moſt of them without regard of taking Priſoners. The Conſul *Paulus* left his Horſe, and caſt himſelf amongſt the Legions, as hoping by them to make good the day. But he failed of his expectation: Yet did he cheer up his men as well as he could both by Words, and Example, ſlaying many with his own hands. The like did *Hannibal* amongſt his *Carthaginians* in the ſame part of the Battel, but with better ſucceſſe. For the Conſul received a blow from a Sling that wounded him much, and though a Troop of *Roman* Gentlemen did their beſt to ſave him from further harm, yet was he ſo hardly laid at, that by wounds and weakneſſe he was compelled to forſake his Horſe: whereupon all his company alſo alighted.

Hannibal being neer, and ſeeing this, ſaid, pleaſantly, *I had rather he would have delivered them to me bound hand, and foot*, meaning, that he had them almoſt as ſafe as if they had been ſo bound. All this while *Varro*, with his aſſociates

ates in the left Wing, was marvelously troubled with *Maharbal*, and his *Numidians*; who beating up and down upon the great Sandy plain, raised a foul dust, which by a strong South wind, was driven into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. These using the advantage both of their number and lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly, neither giving nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers and then wheeling about. Yet at the first, they seemed to promise him a happy day of it. For when the Battels were even ready to joyn, five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their Shieldes on their backs, as was the manner of those which yeilded, and throwing down their Armes, yielded themselves, *Varro* had no leasure then to examine them, but bad them to rest quietly behind his Army till all was done. These crafty marchchants did as he bad them for a while, till they had oportunity to put their designe in execution. Under their Jackets they had short Swords, and Poniards, with which and other weapons that they gathered up of those that were slaine, they flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes were bent another way, where they did much mischief, and raised great terrour. Thus *Hannibal* in a plain ground found meanes to lay an Ambush at the back of his enemies.

Hannibals Policy. The *Romans* beaten.

The last blow that put an end to all, was given by the same hand that gave the first. *Asdrubal* having routed and slain all the *Roman* Horse, save the company of *Æmilius* that joyned themselves to the Foot, did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but, fetching a compasse, he came up to the *Numidians* with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*. This fearfull cloud prognosticated a dismal storme; wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work towards than they were like to sustain, thought it their safest

way

way to ſecure themſelves by preſent flight. The Conſul alſo was as carefull to provide for his own ſecurity as were they. Now he found that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*, and another to encounter him. Cloſe at the heels of him and his flying Troops were *Numidians*, appointed by *Aſdrubal* to the purſute as fiteſt for that ſervice. *Aſdrubal* himſelf with his *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* Horſe, fetching a compaſſe, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, who were almoſt ſurrounded, and much diſtreſſed before. Here began a miſerable ſlaughter, the vanquiſhed multitude thronging each other, not finding which way to turne. *Æmilius*, who could not ſit his Horſe before, whilſt the ſpaces were open by which he might have withdrawn himſelf, was now unable to fly, his way being ſtopt by a throng of his miſerable followers, and heaps of Bodies, that fell apace in that great Carnage.

In this terrible overthrow dyed all the *Roman* Foot, ſave two or three thouſand, who eſcaped into their leſſer Camp; and the night following about four thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe fled into *Canuſium*. The Camps were both yeilded to *Hannibal* by thoſe who yet remained in them. *Terentius* the Conſul recovered *Venuſia* with ſeventy at moſt in his Company; the reſt of his Troops were ſcattered over the Fields, and gathered up by the *Numidians* and made Priſoners. There died in this great Battel of *Canna*, beſides the Conſul *Paulus*, two of the *Roman Queſtors*, twenty one Collonels, eighty Senators, or ſuch as had born Office; amongſt whom was *Servilius*, the laſt years Conſul, and *Minutius*, late Maſter of the Horſe, and about eight thouſand were taken Priſoners. *Hannibal* loſt about four thouſand *Gauls*: fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two hundred Horſe. A loſſe not ſenſible in the joy of ſo great a Victory; which if he had purſued, as *Maharbal* adviſed him, and forthwith marched againſt *Rome*, probably the War had preſently been at an end. But *Hannibal* knew how to get,

not how to use a Victory: and God had otherwise determined.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* Camps, and trused up the spoils, he dislodged and marched away to *Samnium*, finding a disposition in many People thereabouts to forsake the *Romans*, and to make aliance with him. The first Town that opened their Gates to him, was *Cossig*, where he laid up his Baggage; and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he hastened into *Campania*. He dismissed all his Prisoners that were not *Romans*, without ransome; whereby he won the affections of most of the Common People in *Italy*, to incline to him. He also gave leave to his *Roman* Prisoners to send to *Rome* to procure their ransome, with whom he sent *Carthalo*, the General of his Horse, to see how *Rome* stood affected to peace. The Senate commanded *Carthalo* to depart out of their Territories, and refused to redeem their Prisoners; probably, because they wanted Mony wherewithall to do it.

Many Towns inertain *Hannibal*

Campania is a most pleasant and fruitfull Country, and *Capua*, the chief City in it, rich and wealthy, the Citizens despised now the unfortunate virtue of the *Romans*, and sent Ambassadours to *Hannibal* with whom these Articles were agreed upon: That the *Campans* should be absolutly free, and Governed by their own Lawes: That no Citizens of theirs should be subject to any *Carthaginian* Magistrate in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* should deliver to the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* Prisoners, such as themselves should choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen that were Hostages with the *Romans*. Then did *Hannibal* hasten towards *Capua*, leaving *Naples* that he had thought to take in by *Scalado*, but found the Walls too high, and himself not fully furnished for a Siege. At *Capua* he was intertained with great solemnity and Pomp; all the Town being so earnestly in love with their new Guests that they murthered

Capua intertains him.

thered all the *Romans* that at preſent they could come by.

The ſame courſe with theſe of *Capua*, ran the other Cities thereabout, except *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Caſſiline*, and *Acenæ*, which yet ſtood out for the *Romans*. *Rome* it ſelf was in great fear of *Hannibals* coming at the firſt report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*; and the grief of that loſſe was ſo generall, and immoderate, that it much hindred their proviſion againſt apparent danger. All the Senators found work enough to quiet the Peoples lamentations. Courriers were ſent forth to bring them certain tidings how things went, whereof when letters from the Conſul *Varro* had fully informed them, they were ſo amazed, that they ran into Barbarous Superſtition, and by the adviſe of their Southſayers, they buried two men, and two women alive in the Ox-market. Ambaſſadours alſo were ſent to the Oracle at *Delphi*, to enquire with what Prayers and Supplications they might pacifie the Gods, and obtain an end of their calamities.

The *Romans* mourn.

Their Superſtition

In the midſt of theſe extremities they called home their Conſul *Terentius* that he might name a *Dictator*, and all ſorts of people went forth to meet him, and welcome him home, which was done to hold up their reputation. *M. Junius* was choſen for the *Dictator*, and *T. Sompronius* Maſter of the Horſe. Theſe fell preſently to the muſtring of Forces, and raiſed four Legions and a thouſand Horſe, yet were they faign to take ſome that were very Boyes, and they encreaſed their number by adding to them eight thouſand ſturdy Slaves, to whom liberty was promiſed if they would deſerve it by their manly ſervice: The *Dictator* alſo Proclaimed, that whoſoever were in debt and could not pay it, or that had committed any capitall offence, ſhould be pardoned if they would ſerve in the War: and to Arme theſe they were faign to take down out of their Temples the ſpoiles of their enemies, that had been there hung up.

A *Dictator* choſen.

The *Dictator* having dispatched all needfull businesses in the City, took the Field with twenty five Thousand men, with whom he marched into *Campania*, and did little more then to keep *Hannibal* from spoiling the Country. *Marcellus*, one of the *Roman Prators*, lying at *Ostia* with a Legion and fifteen hundred Souldiers newly taken up, with whom he should have gone into *Sicily*, hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, sent his new livied men to *Rome* for the defence of it, and with his Legion marched to *Nola* to help the Citizens there: *Hannibal* had many Friends in *Nola* amongst the common People, and therefore brought his Army thither; and on a day seeing the Walls unmanned, he bad his Souldiers bring their Ladders and scale them: But whilst they did it, and were in confusion, *Marcellus* with his men, issued out at three severall Gates, and set upon the *Carthaginians*, expecting no such thing, and did such execution amongst them, that this was accounted a Victory, and reputed the bravest act in all those Wars, from whence they concluded that *Hannibal* might be overcome.

Hannibal beaten.

From thence *Hannibal* went to *Acerra*, where being refused entrance, he laid Seige to it on every side, wherewith the Citizens being terrified, before his works were finished, they stole out by night, and left the Town empty; which *Hannibal* sackt and burnt, then hearing that the *Dictator* was about *Cassiline*, thither went he, but found him not; only many companies of the *Roman* Confederats were gotten into the Town, and kept it: The Citizens were affected to *Hannibal*, and would faign have been free from there Guests, who finding their intent, in a night slew all the Citizens, and fortified a part of the City against the enemy. *Hannibal* gave diverse assaults to it, but was still repelled with losse, and many sallies they made with variable successe: *Hannibal* mined, and they countermined, so that he was driven to enclose them, that he might win it by Famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, Master of the

Acerræ taken by *Hannibal*.

Cassiline besieged.

the Horſe lay up the River with the *Roman* Army, and would faign have relieved the Beſieged, but durſt not venture. Barrels of Corn he ſent floating down the River to relieve them, which, being diſcovered, came into *Hannibals* hands. *Gracchus* caſt abundance of Nuts into the ſtream, which faintly ſuſtained the Beſieged. At length when all their food was ſpent, and whatſoever green thing grew under the Walls, the *Carthaginians* plowed up the ground, and the beſieged preſently ſowed it with Rape-ſeed. *Hannibal* admired their patience, and ſaid, *That he meant not to ſtay there till the Rapes were grown*, and therefore, whereas he had intended to have made them an example for their obſtinacy, he was now content to grant them their lives upon an eaſie ranſome, and ſo quietly diſmiſſed them. The time of the year now being come, *Hannibal* retired into *Capua*, where he wintered, and where (as ſome ſay) his Army was corrupted with the pleaſures and plenty there, and made more effeminate than before.

About this time *Hannibal* ſent his Brother *Mago* to *Carthage* with the joyfull newes of this great Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his Brother had fought, how many Conſuls he had chaſed, wounded, or ſlain. How the *Romans*, who never uſed to ſhun a Battel, were now grown ſo cold that they thought their *Dictator Fabius* the only good Captain. That not without reaſon their ſpirits were thus abated, ſince *Hannibal* had ſlain above two hundred and ſix Thouſand of them, and taken above fifty Thouſand Priſoners. He told them how many States in *Italy* followed the Fortune of thoſe great Victories. He told them that the War was even at an end, if they would follow it cloſe and give the *Romans* no time of breathing. He wiſhed them to conſider that the War was carried into an enemies Country, that ſo many Battels had diminiſhed his Brothers Army, that the Souldiers that had deſerved ſo well, ought to be well rewarded, and that it was not good

Mago ſent to *Carthage.*

to

to burden their new *Italian* Friends with exactions of money, Corn, *&c.* But that these must be sent from *Carthage.* Lastly he caused the Gold Rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slain, to be powred out before them, which being measured, filled three Bushels.

Large supplies promised to *Hannibal.*

This errand of *Mago* for the present found extraordinary good welcome; And large supplies were voted to be sent to him: But his old enemy *Hanno*, obstructed them, and the too much Parsimony, of the Citizens was the cause that there was very little done, and that which was done came too late. However, *Mago* brings the news of the great supply which was decreed to be sent; which much rejoyced *Hannibal* and his new confederats. The Spring drew on when the supply was expected, but there came no more than a few Elephants, and *Hannibal* was forced to rest contented with them. Then did he take the Field, and sought to make himself master of some good Haven Town that might serve to intertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet when it should arrive with the supplies. For this end he sent *Himilco*, who by the help of his good Friends the *Brusians*, won *Petilia*; he won also *Concentia* and *Crotan*, and the City of *Locri*, and many other places; only the Town of *Rhegium*, over against *Sicily*, held out against him.

Diverse Cities taken.

The *Romans* at this time were in such a case, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them to great extremity. But his own Citizens suffered him to languish with expectation of their promised supplies, which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerer could have desired. But whatsoever *Hannibal* thought, he was faign to apply himself to his *Italian* Friends, and to feed them with Hopes, and to trifle away his time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, &c. being loath to weaken his Army by a hard Siege; that was to be reserved for a work of more importance.

The promised Supplies come not.

tance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad ſucceſſe. Once *Mercellus* fought a Battel with him there, under the Walls of the City, having the Citizens to aſſiſt him, wherein *Hannibal* loſt a thouſand men; which was no great marvil, his forces being then divided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italy* at once.

At this time *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous *Dictator*, were choſen Conſuls. But *Fabius* was detained at *Rome* about matters of Religion, or Superſtition rather, wherewith the City was commonly, eſpecially in the times of danger, very much troubled, ſo *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* amongſt the *Campanes*, not able to meet him in the Field, yet attentive to all occaſions that ſhould be preſented. The Slaves, that lately had been Armed, were a great part of his followers. Theſe and the reſt of his men *Gracchus* continually trained, and had not a greater care to make his Army skilfull in the exerciſes of War, than in keeping it from quarrels that might ariſe by their upbrading one another with their baſe condition.

Gracchus his Prudence.

Gracchus at this time had a bickering with the *Capuans*, upon whom he came at unawars, and ſlew above two thouſand of them, and took their Camp, but ſtaid not long to rifle it for fear of *Hannibal*, that lay not far off. By this his Providence he eſcaped a greater loſſe, than he brought upon the *Capuans*: For when *Hannibal* heard how things went, he preſently marched thither, hoping to find theſe young Souldiers and Slaves buſied in loading themſelves with the Booty: But they were all gotten ſafe into *Cuma* which ſo angred *Hannibal*, that at the earneſt requeſt of the *Capuans*, he aſſailed it the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſs he ſpent about this Town. He raiſed a woodden Tower, and brought it cloſe to the Walls thereby to aſſault it, but they within built a higher Tower, whence they made

The *Capuans* beaten.

Cuma beſieged.

made resistance, and found meanes to set *Hannibals* Tower on fire, and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busy in quenching the fire, they issued out, charged them valiantly and drove them to their Trenches. The Consul wisely sounded a retreat in time, or *Hannibal* had requited them. The day following, *Hannibal* presented Battel to them, but *Gracchus* refused it: Seeing therefore no liklyhood to prevail, he raised his Siege and departed.

The Siege raised.

About this time *Fabius*, the other Consul, took the Field, and recovered some small Towns that *Hannibal* had taken, and punished the Inhabitants severely for their revolt, the *Carthaginians* Army was too small to Garrison all the Towns that had yeilded to them, and with all, to abide (as it must do) strong in the Field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from *Carthage* that would enable him to strik at *Rome* itself, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of War; and instead of making (as he had formerly done) a general invasion upon the whole Country, he was faign to wait upon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. When *Hannibal* was gone to Winter in *Apulia*, *Marcellus* wasted the Country of the *Hirpines*, and *Samnites*: the like did *Fabius* in *Campania*.

Hannibal delaies.

The People of *Rome* were very intentive upon the work they had in hand, they continued *Fabius* in his Consulship, and joyned with him *Cladius Marcellus*. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*, and *Marcellus* the *Roman Sword*. The great Name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which they made, put the *Campans* in fear that *Capua* it self should be besieged, wherefore at their earnest request *Hannibal* came from *Arpi*, and having comforted his Friends, on a sudden he fell upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*, about which he spent three dayes in vain, there being six thousand in Garrison, wherefore he left it, and

and marched to *Terentum*, werein he had great intelligence.

In the mean time *Hanno* made a journy againſt *Beneventum*, where *T. Gracchus* met him. *Hanno* had with him about ſeventeen thouſand Foot, *Brutians*, and *Lucans*, beſides twelve hundred Horſe, moſt of them *Numidians* and *Moors*. Four hours he held the *Romans* work ere it could be perceived to which ſide victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his Souldiers, which were moſt of them Slaves, had received from him a peremptory denunciation, that this day or never they muſt purchaſe their Liberty, by bringing every man an enemies head. The ſweet reward of Liberty was ſo deſireable, that they feared no danger in earning it, though the cuting off their enemies Heads troubled them exceedingly, which *Gracchus* perceiving, proclaimed that they ſhould caſt away the Heads, aſſuring them that they ſhould have their liberty preſently after the Battel, if they wan they day. This made them run headlong upon the enemy, whom their diſparate fury had ſoon overthrown, if the *Roman* Horſe could have made their party good againſt the *Numidians*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and preſſed ſo hard upon the *Roman* Battel, that four thouſand of the Slaves retired to a ground of Strength, yet was he glad at length to ſave himſelf by flight with two thouſand Horſe, all the reſt being either ſlain or taken. *Gracchus* preformed his promiſe to the Slaves, making them free: only on thoſe four thouſand, that went aſide in the Battel, he inflicted this ſlight puniſhment, that as long as they ſerved in the Wars, they ſhould eat ſtanding, unleſſe ſickneſſe forced them to break this order. So *Gracchus* with his Army returned into *Beneventum*, where they newly enfranchiſed Souldiers, were Feaſted in publike by the Townſmen, ſome ſitting, ſome ſtanding and all with their Heads covered, as the manner of ſuch was, with white Caps. This was the firſt Battel worthy of note, that the *Carthaginians* loſt ſince the comming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*.

A Battel

The *Carthaginians* b aten.

The *Romans* poverty, how supplyed.

Thus the *Romans* by degrees began to get heart, and repair their breaches, only their Treasury was very empty, whereupon the People were called together, and were plainly told, that in this exigent, there must be no taking of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or other necessaries for the Souldies, but that they must trust the Commonwealth with the loan of these things till the Wars were ended. This was willingly assented to, and the Armies were well supplied both at home, and abroad.

Cassiline taken by the *Romans*.

In the mean time the *Roman* Generals omitted no part of industry in seeking to recover what had been lost. *Cassiline* was besiged by *Fabius*, unto whose assistance *Marcellus* came; The Town was well defended by a *Carthaginian* Garrison for a longtime, but at length, the Inhabitants grew fearfull, craved a Parlee, and agreed to deliver it up, so as all might have liberty to depart whither they pleased. This was consented to, yet as they were issuing out, *Marcellus* seizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army and put all to the Sword: only about fifty that had gotten out, ran to *Fabius*, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua*.

Hannibal was this while about *Tarentum*, but after long expectation of having it delivered to him, he was faign to depart without it. So he went to *Salapia*, which he intended to make his wintring place, and began to Victual it.

The new Counsuls chosen at *Rome*, were, *Q. Fabius*, the Son of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant to his Son; and on a time when the old man came to the Camp, his Son rode out to meet him. Eleven of the twelve *Lictors*, let him passe by on Horsback, which was against the custome: but the Son perceiving this, bad the last of the *Lictors* to take notice of it, who thereupon bad old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on Foot: the Father cheerfully did so, saying, *It*

was

was my mind, Son, to make tryall, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul. *Altimus* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, came to *Fabius* and offered to deliver the Town into his hands. *Hannibal* hearing of it, was glad, and ſent for the Wife and Children of *Altinius* into his Camp, he examined them by torment, and being aſſured of the Treaſon, he commanded them to be burnt, and ſeized upon all *Altinius* his wealth. *Fabius* ſhortly after came to *Arpi*, which he took by *Scalado* in a ſtormy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Town, and of the *Arpines* there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, who ſuſpected them, and therefore thought it no wiſdom to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over the fight, and Parlied with the *Romans*, and the *Arpine Prætor*, going to the *Roman* Conſul, received his Faith for the ſecurity of the Town, wherefore they preſently made head againſt the Garriſon, yet did the *Carthaginians* make ſtout reſiſtance, till it was agreed that they ſhould paſſe ſafely, and returne to *Hannibal.*

Arpi taken by the *Romans.*

About this time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the *Roman Prætors.* Alſo one hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſervice to *C. Fulvius*, the other *Prætor*, only upon condition to have their goods reſtored to them: which ſhewed that their affections were turned from *Hannibal* to the *Romans.* The *Conſentines* alſo and the *Thurines*, which had yeilded to *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe great ſuccours which were promiſed from *Carthage*, returned to their old allegiance again. Others would have done the like, but that at this time *Hanno* met with, and ſlew *L. Pomponius*, and a great multitude that followed him.

The *Romans* beaten.

Hannibal in the mean time had all his care about *Tarentum*, which if he could take, it would be very commodius for the Landing of the ſupplies, which he yet

Tarentum take by Hannibal.

expected. Long he waited for an opportunity, and at last by the help of his Friends within it, he one night entered at the two Gates that were opened for him, and presently made to the market place; which the Governour perceiving, fled to the Port, and taking Boat, got into the Citadel that stood at the mouth of the Haven. *Hannibal* having gotten the spoil of the *Roman* souldiers goods, he addressed himself against the Citadel, which stood upon a *Peninsula*, and was joyned to the Town by a causway, which was fortified with a Wall and a ditch. Against this *Hannibal* raised some works, hoping in a short time to take it, but whilst he was thus busied, there came in a strong supply by Sea to them, which made his attempt hopelesse. The *Tarentins* Fleet lay in the Haven and could not go forth by reason of the Citadel, whereby the Citizens were likely in a short time to suffer want: To help this, *Hannibal* caused their ships to be drawn up, and carried through the streets, which were long and plain, and lanched them into the Sea without; which done, they so cut off all supplies, that the Citadel began to suffer want.

Now this while the *Roman* Forces grew strong, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, the new Consuls, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*, having now armed twenty three Legions, though to fill them up, they had listed many Boyes, and they made a Law for their encouragement, that their years should go on from that time, as if they had been of lawfull age.

Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Capuans*, through their own wretchlesnesse, began to feel want of Victuals, they sent therefore to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them before they were closed up, and he sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day to bring store of Carriages to convey in the provisions which he should make, but when the day came, they brought only

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fourty Waggons, with a few pack horſes. *Hanno* was much vexed at it, and appointed them another day when they ſhould come better provided: But in the mean while *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, came privatly to *Beneventum*, and having learned that *Hanno* was gone abroad a Forraging, he marched all night, and by the break a day, aſſaulted his Camp, which for a long time was gallantly defended, but at laſt, though with great loſſe, he won it, in which ſix thouſand were ſlain, ſeven thouſand taken Priſoners, beſides a great Booty that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederats. This miſadventure, and the neer approach of the *Roman* Conſuls, made them of *Capua* to ſend a pitifull meſſage to *Hannibal*, intreating him to haſten to their relief, conſidering how faithfull they had been to him. *Hannibal* anſwered them with fair promiſes, and ſent away two thouſand Horſe to keep their lands from ſpoile, whilſt himſelf was intent about taking the Citadel, and ſome other Towns in theſe parts.

The Carthaginians beaten.

The Conſuls, fortifying *Beneventum*, to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*. Many diſaſters befell the *Romans* in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *Gracchus*, a brave ſouldiers, and lately twice Conſul, was ſlain. He was honourably interred by *Hannibal*, ſome of whoſe ſtraglers had ſlaine him, the *Manumiſſed* Slaves that ſerved under him, took this opportunity to go every man whither he pleaſed, ſo that it was long ere they could be got together again. Yet the Conſuls proceeded in their work. *Mago* and the Citizens gave them but bad welcome, ſallying out, and ſlaying fifteen hundred of their men. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* himſelf came, fought with them, and cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night and went ſeverall wayes: *Fulvius*, towards *Canne*, and *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed *Claudius* but could not reach him Yet by the way he met with one *Pennla*, a ſtout man that

Capua beſieged by the Conſuls.

The Seige raiſed by *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* beaten.

that had the charge of neer ſixteen thouſand men, with him he fought, and ſlew him, and almoſt all his men, ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Then was *Hannibal* informed that *Cneus Fulvius*, a *Roman Prætor*, was in *Apulia* with about eighteen Thouſand men. Coming to *Fulvius*, ſo forward he was, that needs he would have fought with him that night. *Hannibal* ſet *Mago* with three thouſand men in an Ambuſh, then offering Battel to *Fulvius*, he ſoon had him in the Trap, whence he was glad to eſcape himſelf, leaving all, ſave two thouſand of his men, dead behind him

Another victory.

Theſe two great blowes much aſtonied the *Romans*. Yet when they had gathered they remainders of thoſe Armies, the Conſuls fell hard again to the Seige of *Capua*. At the firſt ſitting down of the Conſuls they proclaimed, that whoſoever would come out of *Capua* by ſuch a day, ſhould be pardoned, and enjoy his eſtate, if not, no grace was to be expected: the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the aſſiſtance of *Hannibal* rejected this offer with ſcorn: And before they were wholly cloſed up, they ſent to *Hannibal* requeſting his help: He gave them good words, and diſmiſſed them. But he, thinking that they were well able to hold out for a long time, ſtaid to diſpatch his buſineſſe, before he went, by which means the Conſuls had time enough to entrench and ſecure themſelves.

Capua beſieged again.

Hannibal comes to relieve them.

When the Conſulſhip of *Claudius* and *Fulvius* was expired, they were continued in their charge of the Army as Proconſuls, and their deſigne was to take *Capua* by Famine. But *Hannibal* came before he was expected by the *Romans*, and took one of their Forts, and fell upon their Camp; the *Capuans* alſo at the ſame time ſallyed out but were beaten in again; Yet did *Claudius* in purſuing them, receive a wound, that ere long brought him to his Grave. *Hannibal* followed his buſineſſe better and had almoſt taken the Camp, yet at length was repelled.

This

This extreamly angred *Hannibal* and made him intertaine a haughty resolution, even to set upon *Rome*, which accordingly he pursued, and because that work must be done with celerity, he caused his men to provide victuals for ten dayes, and so marched forward. This newes coming to *Rome*, they sent to acquaint their Generals with it, wishing them to do what they judged best for the safety of the City. And thereupon *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand choise Foot, and a thousand Horse, and with them hasted towards *Rome*.

Hannibal intends for *Rome* and leaves it.

As *Hannibal* drew neer, making woefull havock as he went, all the streets and Temples in *Rome* were filled with women, crying, and praying, tubbing the Altars with their haire, the Senators were all in the Great market place, ready to give advice upon all emergencies. But *Fulvius* and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome* neer together. The Consuls and *Fulvius* encamped without the Gate of *Rome*, attending *Hannibal*, who coming within three miles of the City, advanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way under the Wals, viewing, and considering how he might best approach them. Yet went he back without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults were at this time raised in the City, and the multitude were so affrighted, that they would have run out of the Gates if they could have done it with safety.

The day following *Hannibal* brought up his Army and presented Battel to the *Romans*, who would have accepted it, had not a terrible shower of rain caused both the Armies to return into their Camps and this happened two dayes together, and the weather cleered up presently after. But *Hannibal*, who had brought but ten dayes provision with him, could not stay any longer, he therefore made all the spoil he could in the *Roman* Territories, passing like a Tempest over the Country, and run towards the eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost taken *Regium* before his arrival was suspected. As for *Capua* he gave it for lost, and cursed the facti-

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on of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relive that fair City

Fulvius returned back to the Siege of *Capua*, which now began to suffer want. And faign they would have sent again to *Hannibal* but that all wayes were intercepted. The truth is, *Hannibal* had already done his best, and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein (as he afterwards protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partizans in the Senate of *Carthage*, rather than by any force of the *Romans*. *Capua* being now brought to extremity, the multitude forced the Senators to consult about the delivering of it up to the *Romans*: The bravest of the Senators foresaw what the issue would be, and therefore one of them invited the rest home to supper, telling them that when they had Feasted themselves he would begin to them such a Health as should for ever free them from the malice of their enemies, the *Romans*: Twenty seven of the Senators imbraced the motion, and when they had supped, drank Poison, whereof they died: The rest, hoping for mercy, yeilded to discretion. So a Gate was opened whereat a *Roman* Legion entred, disarmed the Citizens, and made the *Carthaginians* Prisoners; The Senators were laid in Irons; and presently after, *Fulvius* caused all the *Campane* Prisoners to be bound to stakes, and scourged a good while with Rods, after which he struck off their heads. The like rigor *Fulvius* used to all the Towns of the *Campanians*: most of the Inhabitants, with their Wives and Children he sold for Slaves, the rest were banished; after which the Glory of *Hannibal* began to shine more dimme, and most of *Italy* by the terrible example of the *Capuans*, had a generall inclination, upon good conditions, to return to the *Roman* side.

Capua taken.

The Consuls cruelty.

Marcellus and *Levinus* being chosen Consuls, *Levinus* went into *Sicily*, and *Marcellus* was to make War with *Hannibal*: They were busy in raising Souldiers, but wanted mony extreamly; many wayes were proposed how

how to ſupply that want. At laſt the Conſuls ſaid, that no preſwaſions wouldbe ſo effectual with the People, as good examples; wherefore they propounded and it was preſently reſolved, that every one ſhould bring and put into the Treaſury all the mony, Jewels, and Plate that they had, and none reſerve more than one Salt,and a Bowle whetewith to make their offerings to the Gods: as alſo a Ring for himſelf: and ſome other ſmall Ornaments for his Wife and Children; and this was accordingly done by all, withmuch cheerfullneſſe.

The publick wants ſupplied.

Then went forth *Marcellus* againſt *Hannibal*, whoſe Army was now greatly diminiſhed by long and hard ſervice. His credit alſo amongſt his *Italian* Friends was much weakened by the loſſe of *Capua*: This put him upon pillaging thoſe Towns which he could not keep, thinking that the beſt way both to enrich himſelf, and to preſerve it from his enemies: but this farther alienated them from him, whereupon *Salapia* yeilded to *Marcellus*, and betrayed to him a gallant Regiment of *Numidians*, the very beſt that *Hannibal* had. After this the Conſul took two Cities of the *Sammites*, wherein he ſlew above three thouſand of *Hannibals* men; which *Hannibal* could not prevent, the *Romans* being grown ſtronger in the Field than he. But now came newes that *Maſſaniſſa* was at *Carthage*, with five thouſand Horſe, ready to ſet ſail for *Spain*, whither, when he came, he was to accompany *Aſdrubal*, the Brother of *Hannibal* into *Italy*. This did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than it terified the *Romans*.

Salapia yeildedto *Marcellus*

At this time *Hannibal* was informed that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman Prætor*, lay neer to *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice: *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward, and when he came, offered Battel to *Fulvius*, who readily embraced it. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* Horſe: then fell they to rout, and a great ſlaughter was made of them; *Fulvius*, with

The *Romans* beaten.

twelve Collonels, and about thirteen thouſand were ſlain, and *Hannibal* ſet *Herdonea* on fire becauſe it was appointed to be delivered up to the *Romans.*

A Battel

Marcellus hearing this, haſted thither: At *Venuſia* they met, and fought a Battel from morning till the night parted them, and ended with uncertain Victory. Many more skirmiſhes they had, but none of importance.

Then *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius* were again choſen Conſuls: and *Fabius* reſolved to beſiege *Tarentum*, which if he could win, like it was that ſcarce any one good City would remain true to *Hannibal*, and in the mean time he deſired *Fulvius*, and *Marcellus*, with their Army, to preſſe *Hannibal* ſo hard that he might have no leaſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was glad of this opportunity, judging that no *Roman* was ſo fit to deal with *Hannibal* as himſelf: He followed him therefore from place to place, deſiring ever to come to Battel, but upon unequall tearmes. *Hannibal* only intertained him with ſkirmiſhes, meaning to keep his Army intire, till *Aſdrubal* came to him. But *Marcellus* was ſo importunate, that he could not be rid of him, wherefore *Hannibal* bad his men to beat ſoundly this hotſpur *Roman* Captain of whom he could not be rid till he had let him bloud. Then followed a Battel wherein *Hannibal* had the victory, took ſix Enſigns and ſlew about three thouſand of the *Romans*. *Marcellus* rated his men exceedingly, and called them cowards, which did ſo ſhame them, that they asked pardon, and deſired him to lead them forth again againſt the enemy. *Hannibal* was angry to ſee that nothing would make them quiet, and ſo they fought again, and though the *Romans* had the better of it, fighting very deſparately, yet they loſt ſo many men that they had little cauſe to boaſt of the Victory: Only this advantage they had, that hereby *Fabius* got time to proſecute his Siege at *Tarentum* without diſturbance. *Fulvius* the other Conſul this while took in diverſe Towns of the *Hirpines*, *Lu-*

A Battel.

The *Romans* beaten.

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uls, and *Volſcentes*, that willingly rendred themſelves and betrayed *Hannibals* Garriſons to him.

Fabius, by the Treaſon of a *Bruſian* Captain in *Tarentum* had the Town delivered into his hands, and yet when he was entered he put all to the Sword, *Brutians* as well as others, whereby his credit was much empaired. All the Riches of the Town he ſought out, which was very great, and ſent it to the Treaſury at *Rome* where there was much need of it. *Hannibal* having gotten cleer of *Marcellus*, fell upon thoſe that beſieged *Caulonia*, all whom he ſlew or took Priſoners, and then he haſted to relieve *Tarentum*; But when he came within five miles, he heard that it was loſt. This grieved him, yet he ſaid no more than this, *The* Romans *have alſo their* Hannibal: *We have loſt* Terentum *in like ſort as we got it.* But leſt he ſhould ſeem to retreat out of fear, he encamped there four or five dayes, and thence departing to *Metapont*, he bethought himſelf how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He cauſed the chief of *Metapont* to write to *Fabius*; offering to betray it into his hand. Theſe Letters were ſent by two young men of the City, who did their errand ſo well, that the Conſul wrote back, and appointed the day when they ſhould expect him. *Hannibal* being glad of this, at leaſure made ready his Ambuſhes for the wary *Fabius*; but ſomething hindred him from coming, and ſo all was fruſtrated.

Tarentum taken.

The *Romans* beaten

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus* were choſen Conſuls, who had a ſtrong deſire to make War upon *Hannibal*, aſſuring themſelves of Victory. *Criſpinus* had alſo a deſire to make his Conſulſhip Famous by taking ſome good Town, as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had done by taking of *Capua*, and *Tarentum*: wherefore he went and beſieged *Locri*, the beſt City in *Italy* that held for the *Carthaginian*, bringing all ſorts of Engins to promote the work. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City, at whoſe approach, *Criſpinus* roſe and retreated to his fellow Conſul. Thither followed

Locri beſieged.

Hannibal, to whom the Consuls offered Battell: He refused it, yet dayly intertained them with Skirmishes, were waiting for some advantage, and reserved his Army to a time of greater imployment when his Brother *Asdrubal* should come into *Italy*. *Marcellus* was not well pleased with this, and therefore sought to force him to fight; for which end, he comanded a Navy by Sea, and the Garrison of *Tarentum* again to besiege *Locri*: But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him, and by the way, laid an Ambush for those of *Tarentum*, slew three Thousand of them, and made the rest to fly back into *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, *Hannibals* desire was to wast them by little, and little. Betwixt him and them was a little Hill, overgrown with bushes, amongst them he hid some *Numidians*, willing them to attend every advantage. To this Hill the Consuls thought fit to remove their Camp; thither therefore they rode to view the place, taking with them the son of *Marcellus*, a few Collonels, and other principal men, and about two hundred Horse. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach, and the other discovered not themselves till they had surrounded the Consuls and their Company. The Consuls defended themselves hoping to be quicklyreleived from their Camp that was neer at hand: But all their Horse save four, forsook them and fled. *Marcellus* was slain with a Lance; *Crispinus* had his Deaths wound, and young *Marcellus* was wounded, yet got to the Camp, the rest were all slain. *Hannibal* gave an honourable Funeral to *Marcellus*, bestowing his ashes in a Silver pot, covered with a Crown of Gold, and sent it to his Son to be interred where he pleased.

The *Romans* beaten.

The Consuls slaine.

Then *Licinius* the *Roman* Admiral laid hard Siege to *Locri*, wherefore *Hannibal* went thither again, but as soon as his Vant-couriers appeared, the *Romans* ran in confused heapes to their Ships, leaving all their Engins, and whatsoever was in their Camp to *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* beaten.

C. Claudius Nero, and *M. Livius* were chosen Con-

ſuls, at which time *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and was approaching towards *Italy*. *Livius* wold not ſtir againſt him but with a conſiderable Army, and thoſe of the choiſeſt men: and *Claudius* with an other Army, was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. By this time newes came that *Aſdrubal* was paſſing the *Alps*, and that the *Ligurians*, and thoſe about *Genoa* were ready to joyn with him. When all was ordered according to the Conſuls minds, they went forth of the City, each his ſeverall way. The Citizens were full of fears, there being an other Son of *Amilcar* come into *Italy*, and one that in this expedition ſeemed to be of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal*. For whereas in that long and dangerous march through ſo many Barbarous Nations, over great Rivers, and Mountains, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army, *Aſdrubal* in the ſame journy had increaſed his; deſcended from the *Alps* like a rowling Snowball, far greater than when he came over the *Pyrenes*. This made the People wait upon their Conſuls out a Town, like a penſive train of Mourners.

Great fear at *Rome*.

Aſdrubal at his firſt coming into *Italy* ſet upon *Placentia*; but there he loſt a great deal of time, and yet was faigne at laſt to leave it, whereby he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leaſure to make ready for him, and cauſed his Brother *Hannibal* to make no haſt to meet him, knowing that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſt.

Aſdrubal comes into *Italy*.

Nero made what ſpeed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his Brother. He had with him fourty thouſand Foot, beſides Horſe, with which he oft offered *Hannibal* Battel, and in diverſe Skirmiſhes had the better of him. At *Grumentum Hannibal* fought with him, but was worſted. yet gat he off and marched away to *Venuſia*, with *Nero* ſtill at his heels. Thence he went to *Canuſium*, and ſat down there neer the place where he had obtained his moſt memorable Victory. There alſo *Nero* ſat down by him.

him, thinking it enough to hinder him from joyning with his ſuccours. There was he advertiſed of *Aſdrubals* approach by letters that were going to *Hannibal* which he intercepted: wherefore he reſolved that it was better to run ſome deſparate adventure than to ſuffer them to joyn together. He therefore took ſix thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, all of his choiſeſt men, and away he poſted as faſt as he could to aſſiſt his Fellow Conſul. *Livy* at that time lay encamped neer to *Sorea Gallica*, and *Aſdrubal* within half a mile of him. In ſix dayes *Nero* finiſhed his journy thither, and by the way his company was encreaſed by ſome voluntaries. The next day after his coming, they conſulted together, and reſolved to fight the enemy, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that both the Conſuls were now together, and thereupon feared that *Hannibal* was ſlaine, and though before he was forward to fight, yet now he thought it no ſhame to retreat farther from them. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*: but being miſled by his Guids, he had not gone far before: *Nero* was at his heels with all the Horſe, which hindred him from going any farther, and the other Conſul followed with the Legions in order of Battel. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing a neceſſity to fight, omitted no care, or circumſpection. His *Gauls* he placed in the left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy could not aſcend without much difficulty. In the right wing he ſtood himſelf, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*: His *Lygurians* he placed in the midſt, and his Elephants in the Front of the Battel. On the *Romans* ſide *Nero* had the right Wing, *Livius* the left, and *Portius* led the Battel, *Livy* and *Portius* found ſtrong oppoſition, and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. *Nero* laboured much in vain againſt the ſteep Hill, where the *Gauls* ſtood out of his reach: wherefore taking part of his Forces, he led them round behind *Livy* and *Portius*, and charged *Aſdrubal* in the Flank, which made the Victory incline to the *Romans*: For *Nero* ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubals* Battel.

A Battel.

tel, and put it to rout. Of the *Spaniards* and *Africans* the greateſt part were ſlaine: the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* ſaved themſelves by flight: Of the Elephants only four were taken alive: the reſt were ſlaine, moſt by their riders: the Guid having in readineſſe a mallet and a chiſſel wherewith he gave a ſtroke between the eares in the joynt next the Head, wherewith he killed the Beaſt upon a ſudden.

Aſdrubal ſtrove with great Patience againſt many difficulties, and performed all the duties of a worthy Generall, and ſtout Souldier, and when he ſaw the loſſe irraparable, he rode manfully into the thickeſt of the Enemies, where fighting bravely, he was ſlain. The number of the ſlain on both ſides is variouſly reported, the Camp and all the Riches in it fell into the hands of the *Romans*.

Aſdrubal ſlaine.

When it was known at *Rome* how *Nero* had left his Army, they were much amazed and full of fears: The People filled the Market place, the Women ran to the Temples with Vows and Prayers, and all were filled with melancholly: therefore the newes of this Victory was intetained with exceeding joy, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*. *Nero* returning to his Camp, threw the Head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians* and brought forth his *African* Priſoners bound, ſending two of them to give *Hannibal* notice what had happened.

Hannibal having in this unhappy fight, loſt, beſides his worthy Brother, all hope that had ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italy*, withdrew himſelf into the Country of the *Brutians*, and thither he cauſed all the *Lucans*, his Friends, to remove, as likwiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend ſo many places as he held, lying ſo far aſunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſſe in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*; it being a Country of much faſtneſſe, and the People exceedingly devoted unto his ſervice. This was in the thirteenth year after his coming into *Italy*: and from thence to the eighteenth year

Hannibal retires into *Bruſia*.

year wherein he departed, there was no memorable thing done. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength wherewith to make any great attempt, the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him, but thought it well that he was quiet. This commendation is given him by the *Roman* Hiſtorians themſelves. That making War upon a People, of all others the moſt Warlike, he obtained ſo many Victories by his own good conduct: And that leading an Army compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to an other, yet he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition amongſt themſelves, or againſt their General. And here we muſt leave him till he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*.

His Prudence

P. Cornelius Scipio having Conquered *Spain*, returned home to *Rome*, where he made ſuit for the Honour of a Triumph, which was denied him, becauſe he only had the place of a Proconſul: Yet to make him amends, they choſe him Conſul, together with *P. Licinius Craſſus*, who being High Prieſt alſo, might not go far fom the City, as being to attend the matters of their Superſtition: which made well for *Scipio*, who was deſirous to be ſent into *Africk*, to transfer the War thither. Some there were of the Senators, eſpecially *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that oppoſed him therein: yet at length he obtained to have the Iſle of *Sicily* for his Province, with leave to paſſe into *Africk* if he found it expedient.

Scipio comes from *Spain*; Is choſen Conſul.

The Treaſury at *Rome* being extreamly exhauſted, no mony was given to *Scipio*, neither was he allowed to preſſe Souldiers for his *African* Voyage: But the People made up the backwardneſſe of the Senate with their forwardneſſe: For beſides his *Roman* Souldiers, he had about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries that came to him from ſundry parts of *Italy*. Severall Towns alſo furniſhed him, with Corn, Iron, Handmils, and all other neceſſaries, ſo

that

that having his Navy in readineſſe, he tranſported his Army into *Sicily*, where he found, beſides other Forces, two gallant Legions of old Souldiers that had ſerved at *Cannæ*. For encreaſing his number of Horſe, he preſſed three hundred young and rich Gentlemen of *Sicily*, and then diſcharged them again, upon condition that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Armes to as many *Roman* Gentlemen whom he had brought along with him for the ſame purpoſe.

He goes into *Sicily*.

Then did *Scipio* imploy *Lælius* into *Africk*, rather to make diſcovery than to do any thing, who yet took a great Booty, and ſtruck no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*, who ſaw their affaires now to be upon the tearmes of change. He alſo procured King *Maſſaniſſa* to revolt from the *Carthaginians* and to joyn with the *Romans*. Then did *Scipio* embark his Army for *Africk*, where he landed neer the *Faire Promontory*, and preſently after encamped before *Utica*.

Sends into *Africk*.

And goes himſelf.

The *Carthaginians* at this time had no Captain of note in their City, nor a better Army than of raw Souldiers that were levied in haſt. *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*, that was lately chaſed out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their beſt man of War. But before he was ready to take the Field, *Scipio* had beaten the Troop of *Cathaginian* Horſe that were ſent to impead his landing, and ſlaine *Hanno* their Captain; he had alſo ſacked one of their Towns, and taken eight thouſand Priſoners, and ſent them into *Sicily*. He took alſo *Salva* which he fortified. Then paſſed he to *Utica* and beſieged it fourty dayes with all ſorts of Engines, but prevailed not. By this time *Aſdrubal* had gotten thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, but all raw Souldiers, and King *Syphax* brought to their help fifty Thouſand Foot and ten Thouſand Horſe, with which they marched bravely towards *Scipio*, who thereupon left the Siege, and encamped upon the Shore in a place of advantage which he ſtrongly fortified, and Winter drawing on, *Maſſaniſſa* brought in great ſtore of Corn, Cattel, and other Pro-

Utica beſieged.

visions to him. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neer unto him: their Souldiers covered their Huts with Mats and Reeds, and dry Boughs; and being held in hand about a treaty of peace, they grew remisse, and carlesse in keeping their Guard, which *Scipio* being informed of, took his oportunity in the night to set their Camps on fire, and in the confusion slew, and took Prisoners most of them.

The *Carthaginians* beaten.

Yet did the *Carthaginians* make shift to raise another Army of neer thirty thousand, reckoning in *Syphax*, and his men, and four thousand *Spaniards*, Mercenaries, that were lately come to them: *Scipio* went to meet them, and another Battel was fought, and the Victory easily obtained by *Scipio* against those raw and untrained men. Thus *Scipio* became Master of the Field, and took in diverse Cities, and sent *Massanissa* and *Lælius* after *Syphax* into his Kingdom, whom they beat again, took him Prisoner, and partly by fair meanes, and partly by foule, became Masters of most of his Kingdom, which *Scipio* bestowed upon *Massanissa*. And this was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to make Kings.

And a second time.

The *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard this newes, and for the calamity which had befaln their good Friend *Syphax*, and when they understood that *Massanissa*, their immortall enemy, had gotten possession of his Kingdom. This made them send forth Ambassadours to *Scipio* to make suit for Peace. When these came into *Scipios* presence, they basely prostrated themselves on the ground, and kissed his Feet, and made as unworthy a Speech, beseeching him to passe by their offences,, and to grant them Peace.

They sue for Peace.

Scipio knew well in what a poor case *Rome* then was, and how unable to defray the charge of the War if it should be continued, and therefore he was willing to grant them Peace upon these conditions: That they should render up all the Prisoners, and all their Renigadoes, and slaves; That they should withdraw their Armies out of

Italy

Italy and *Gaul*: That they ſhould not meddle with *Spain*, nor with any Iſlands betwixt *Italy* and *Africk*: That they ſhonld deliver up all their Ships of War, ſave twenty: That they ſhould pay him a great ſumme of Money, with ſome hundred thouſand Buſhels of Wheat and Barley: All theſe they aſſented to, whereupon he granted them a Truce that they might ſend their Ambaſſadors to the Sanate of *Rome*. But the truth was, they deſired only to get time till *Hannibal* might come back, in whom they repoſed all their confidence: And therefore they took occaſion to pick new quarrels with the *Romans*, which they were the rather encouraged to, hearing newes that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, by whoſe meanes they hoped either to drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to procure better tearms of Peace.

They dealt deceitfully.

Hannibal departed out of *Italy* no leſſe paſſionate then men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countries to go into Exile: He looked back to the ſhore, accuſing both Gods and men, and curſing his own dulneſſe in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloudied as it was, to the Walls of *Rome*.

Hannibal leaves *Italy*.

Arriving in *Africk* he diſembarked his Army at *Leptis*, almoſt one hundred miles from *Carthage*. He was ill provided of Horſe, which he could not eaſily tranſport out of *Italy*. From thence he paſſed through the inland Country, gathering Friends by the way. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* Prince that had the beſt Horſes, he allured to joyn with him: and one *Mezetallus*, an other Prince brought him a thouſand Horſe. The *Carthagians* in the mean time neglected to make thoſe preparations that would have ſecured the Victory and yet they ſent to *Hannibal*, requiring him with out delay to do what he could. *Hannibal* anſwered, that they were his Lords, and therefore might diſpoſe of him and his Army, but ſince he was Generall of their Forces, he deſired that he might have leave to make choiſe of his own time. Yet to pleaſe them, he made long marches to *Zama*, and there encamped.

Comes into *Africk*.

From *Zama* he ſent forth his Scouts to learn where the *Romans* lay, and what they were doing. Some of theſe were taken and brought to *Scipio*, who ſhewed them all his Camp and ſo diſmiſſed them. *Hannibal* admired at his Generoſity, and had a very great deſire of an interview that he might talk with him: and this he ſignified by a Meſſenger. *Scipio* imbraced the motion and ſent him word when and where he might meet with him. Accordingly the two Generals rode forth, with each of them a Troop of Horſe till they met, and then their men were bid to ſtand off: Each of them had his Interpreter, and when they met they ſtood ſilent for a while, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then began *Hannibal* to ſalute the *Roman* to this effect. That it had been better both for *Carthage* and *Rome*, if they could have contained their ambition within the ſhoars of *Africk* and *Italy*: for that the Countries of *Sicily* and *Spain*, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had been loſt, and ſo much bloud as had been ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſſes: But ſince what was paſt could not be recalled, he ſaid, *That it was time for them at the length to put an end to theſe contentions, and to Pray the Gods to endue them with more wiſdom for hereafter. To which peaceable diſpoſition his own years, and long tryall of Fortune, both good and bad, made him inclineable: But he feared that* Scipio, *for want of ſuch experiences, would rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereunto all humane affairs are ſubject: Yet* (ſaid he) *my own example may peradventure teach thee moderation. For I am that ſame* Hannibal *that after my Victory at* Cannæ, *wan the greateſt part of* Italy, *and deviſed what I ſhould do with your City of* Rome *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought my Army to your Walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *But ſee the change, I now ſtand hear intreating thee for Peace. This may teach thee Fortunes inſtability. I fought with thy Father* Scipio. *He was the firſt* Roman *Generall that I met with in the Field: I did then little think that the*

An interview of the Generals.

Hannibals Speech to *Scipio.*

time

time would come when I ſhould hove ſuch buſineß with his Son: and thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelf, who knowes how ſoon? What ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be content that we leave to you Spain, *and all the Iſlands between* Italy *and* Africk? *By effecting this thou ſhalt have Glory enough, and the* Romans *may well be glad of ſuch a bargain: and we will be faithfull in obſerving the Peace with you. If thou refuſeſt this, conſider what an hazzard thou muſt run to get a little more: If thou ſtaieſt but till to morrow night, thou muſt take ſuch Fortune as the Gods ſhall allot. The iſſue of Battels is uncertain, and oft beguiles expectation. Let us therefore without more ado make Peace. Say not that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours, dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treaty. Its I* Hannibal *that now deſire Peace, which I would never do but that I think it expedient for our Country: and judging it expedient I will alwayes maintaine it.*

Scipios reply.

To this *Scipio* anſwered, That he was not ignorant of the mutability of Fortune: That without any note of inſolence he might well refuſe the conditions offered: *But* (ſaid he) *if thy Citizens can be contented, beſides what I propoſed and they formerly aſſented to, to make ſuch reparation for theſe late injuries as I ſhall require, then I will further adviſe what anſwer to give you, otherwiſe prepare for War, and expect the iſſue.*

They prepar to fight.

Hereupon they brake off, and each returned to his own Camp, bidding their Souldiers to prepare for Battel, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the Field, each of them ordering their men as they judged moſt convenient. After which *Scipio* rode up and down his Army, biding them remember what they had atchieved ſince they came into *Africk*. He told them, that if they wan the day, the War was at an end, and this Victory would make them Lords of all the World, for after this, none ſhould be able to reſiſt them: But if they were beaten, there was no poſſibily of eſcaping; they muſt

muſt either Conquer or die, or be miſerable ſlaves under muſt mercileſſe enemies.

Hannibal was far the weaker in Horſe and a great part of his Army were raw Souldiers, yet his Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay. He encouraged therefore his men as was moſt ſuitable to their qualities. To the Mercenaries he promiſed bountifull rewards. The *Carthaginians* he threatned with inevitable ſervitude if they loſt they day: but eſpecially he animated his old fellow Souldiers by the many Victories which they had gotten over thoſe that far exceeded them in number. He bad them looke on their Enemies and ſee whether they were not by far fewer than that huge Army they had ſlaughtered at *Canna*. He bad them remember that it was the Father of this *Scipio* whom they had made to run away, *&c.* Wherefore he intreated them, uponwhoſe virtue he meant wholy to repoſe himſelf, that they would ſtrive that day to make good their honour, and to purchaſe the fame of *Men Invincible.*

When the Armies drew neer, the *Numidian* Horſemen on both ſides began to Skirmiſh: the Trumpets, and other inſtruments ſounded to Battel. *Hannibals* Elephants (which were alwayes an uncertain kind of help) were to break upon the *Romans*: But ſome of them ran back upon their own Horſe, which they ſo diſordered, that *Maſſaniſſa*, taking the advantage, before they could re-ally, charged them, and drave them quite out of the Field. The reſt of theſe Beaſts, made a great ſpoile amongſt the *Roman Velites*, but being wounded, they ran back upon the right point of their own Battel, and diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe that were in that wing; which gave ſuch advantage to the *Roman* Horſe, that charging them when they were in diſorder, they drave them away likewiſe. Then did the Battels of Foot advance, and ran one at the other, and the Mercenaries at the firſt ſeemed to have the better of the *Romans*: But at length the *Roman* Diſcipline prevailed againſt boiſterous ſtrength. And whereas the *Romans*, were ſecond-

At Battel.

ed

ed by their Friends, theſe Mercenaries received no help from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new raiſed *Africans*, when they ſaw the Mercenaries give back, they retired alſo, which made the hired Souldiers think themſelves betrayed, whereupon they declined the fight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified then before, ſo that refuſing to give way to the Mercenaries they fell out amongſt themſelves, and forbore to make head againſt their Enemies. Thus were many of them beaten down and ſlain through their own indiſcretion: And this gave the *Romans* ſuch advantage that the made a great ſlaughter both of the *Carthaginians* and Mercenaries, who could neither fight nor eaſily fly. Such as could, ran towards *Hannibal*, who kept his ground and would not ſtir to help theſe run-wayes.

Then did *Scipio* advance againſt *Hannibal* who intertained him after an other manner than ever he had been received in his life before. All the former dayes work, ſeemed but a Paſtime in compariſon of this. The *Romans* were incouraged becauſe they had prevailed all the day before; they were alſo far more in number: But *Hannibals* old Blades were freſh and the better men. They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution that no man gave back one Foot, but rather choſe to die than to loſe their ground, ſo that for a long time the Victory was uncertain: But the return of *Maſſaniſſa* and *Lelius* with the Horſe from the purſute of the Enemies, was to the *Romans* moſt happy and in a needfull time. Theſe upon a ſuddain, charging *Hannibal* upon the Reer, overbore them with meer violence and put them to rout.

Hannibal beaten.

Hannibal with a few Horſe ſaved himſelfe by flight, and ſtaid not till he came to *Carthage*; where, coming into the Senate, he told them plainly, that there was no other way left but to make ſuch a Peace as could be procured. Amongſt other things it was agreed, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould pay to the *Romans* two hundred Talents a year for fifty years together. Which mony, when

He flies to *Carthage*, and perſwades them to ſeek Peace.

when it came to be collected, there was pitious lamentation amongst the People, the *Roman* yoak begining to pinch them already, that some of the Senators could not forbear weeping; but *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter: For which *Asdrubal Hædus* (one of *Hanno's* faction) checked him, saying, that it ill becommed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep. He answered, that laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy, but sometimes from indignation. *Yet* (said he) *My laughter is more seasonable, and lesse obsurd, than your teares. For you should have wept when you gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when you bound up your hands from use of Armes without the good leave of the* Romans. *This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured sevitude. But of these things you had no feeling: Now when a little mony is wrung from you, you are very sensible of that, God grant that the time come not, wherein you shall acknowledge, that it was the least part of your misery for which you have shed these teares.*

His Civil imployment.

Afterwards *Hannibal* in the Civill administration of the City, gave an overthrow or two, to the Judges which at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*, having all the lives, goods, and fame of the rest in their power. Shortly after *Hannibal* was chosen *Prætor*, by virtue of which Office, he was superiour to them for that year. He sent upon an occasion for one of the Treasurers to come to him, but he proudly refused, wherupon *Hannibal* sent a Pursevant for him, and brought him in Judgment before the People, accusing, not only him, but the rest of the Judges for their insolency, and unbridled power, withall, propounding a Law that the Judges should be chosen from year to year. He found also that they had robbed the Treasury, which caused the Taxes to be laid upon the common People, whereof he made such plain demonstration, that they were compelled to restore with shame what

what they had gotten by knavery. This ſo irritated his Enemies, who were of the *Romans* Faction, that they complained to the *Roman* Senate that the *Barchine* Faction grew ſtrong again, and that *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in Armes: For he was like a wild Beaſt that could never be tamed: that he held ſecret intelligence with King *Antiochus*, who was an enemy to the *Romans*, *&c.*

He is complained of to the *Romans.*

Hereupon the Senate ſent three Ambaſſadors to *Carthage* to demand *Hannibal*, but he kept ſuch good eſpiall upon the *Romans* that he was informed of their intentions, againſt which he was never unprepared: And therefore when night was come, he ſtole out of the City, accompanied with two Friends whom he could truſt, and having Horſes in a readineſſe, he rode all night, and came to a Tower of his own by the Sea ſide, and having provided a Ship in readineſſe, he bad *Africk* farewel, lamenting the misfortune of his Country more than his own, and ſhaped his courſe to *Tyre* which was the Mother City of *Carthage*: There he was intertained Royally, in whoſe worth and honour the *Tyrians* thought themſelves to have intereſt becauſe of the affinity between the Cities. Thence went he to *Antiochus*, who was exceeding glad of his coming, intending War againſt the *Romans*.

He flies from *Carthage* to *Tyre.*

He goes to *Antiochus.*

To him *Hannibal* gave excellent advice how he might carry on his War againſt the *Romans*, with beſt advantage; but *Antiochus* hearkned more to his Courtiers than to him, and ſo was ſhamfully beaten by the *Romans*: at which time he admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea as a Prophet, who long before had foreſeen, and foretold him what now was come to paſſe, and when it was too late, wiſhed that he had followed his Counſel. To be brief, *Antiochus* was forced by the *Romans* to ſue for Peace, which at laſt the *Romans* yeilded to: Provided a-

His counſel neglected.

mongſt other things, that *Hannibal* might be delivered into their hands. *Hannibal* getting an incling of this, fled to *Gortina* in *Creet*, where he lived a long time very quietly, but at length he fell into the envy of many by reaſon of his great wealth, whereupon he filled certain great cheſts with Lead, and depoſited them in the Temple of *Diana* there, as if he kept the Treaſure for a dead lift: and thereupon the People, having ſuch a Pledge as that of him, looked leſſe after him: But he in the mean time ſtole away to *Pruſias*, King of *Bythinia*, having firſt molten his Gold, and powered it into ſome hollow Statues of Braſſe, which he carried away with him.

He flies to *Pruſias.*

Shortly after there fell a War between *Pruſias*, and *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, *Pruſias* being encouraged to break his League and to make War upon him, by his confidence in *Hannibal*, whom he had there to mannage his War for him. The War therefore grew hot betwixt them, both by Land and Sea. But *Eumenes*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, overpowred *Pruſias* in both: And whereas *Pruſias* was but weak of himſelf, *Hannibal* procured him the aſſiſtance of ſome other Kings and States, and thoſe of very Warlike Nations: and amongſt them the aide of *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, who ſent him *Philocles* his General, with a very conſiderable Army to help him.

When *Pruſias* had received an overthrow from *Eumenes* by land, he ſought to try his Fortune by Sea, wherein yet he was too weak for him: wherefore *Hannibal* adviſed him to try whether he could not do that by Policy, which by plain force he was not able to effect. He put therefore a multitude of all ſorts of Serpents into Earthen Pitchers, to be hurled aboard the Enemies Ships when they were in fight: giving order to the Souldiers and Sea-men to ſet all upon the Ship wherein *Eumenes* himſelf was, and to defend themſelves from the reſt as well as they could.

could: and that he might the more certainly know in which Ship *Eumenes* was, he ſent an Herauld beforehand with a Letter, containing nothing but a meer flout to *Eumenes*, and full of abuſes to his perſon. Whenas therefore *Pruſias* his men came to it, they fought neither againſt great nor ſmall, but on againſt the Ship wherein *Eumenes* was, whereupon he he was fain to ſeek his ſafety by flight; yet had he periſhed had he not thruſt in upon the next ſhore, where he had placed, for a relief upon all occaſions, a company of his men.

As for *Eumenes* his other Ships, when they preſſed hard upon the Enemy, they let fly amongſt them their Earthen Pitchers full of Snakes, which at firſt ſeemed to them a ridiculous thing: but when the Pitchers, falling upon the Decks, brake in pieces, out flew the Snakes, ſo that they could ſtir no where in the Ships by reaſon of the Serpents, whereby they found themſelves no leſſe annoied by their ſtings, than with the Arrowes of their Enemies, which cauſed them to give over fighting, and to fly to their Camp which was upon the Shoar.

Thus *Hannibal* by this trick, got the better of *Eumenes* in that fight. Nor then only, but alſo in ſundry other encounters; and by one Stratagem or other, he ever put *Eumenes* to the worſt. And once when he adviſed *Pruſias* to fight, and he durſt not, becauſe the entrailes of the Beaſt (ſaid he) forbid me. *What* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *will you rely more upon a litle piece of fleſh in a Calfe, than upon the Judgment of an old experienced Captain in the Field?*

Now as ſoon as newes of theſe things came to the Senate at *Rome*, they ſent *T. Quintius Flaminius* Ambaſſador to *Pruſias*, not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the War againſt *Eumenes*, as to intreat him to deliver to them *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpiteſull enemy they had in all the world.

Pruſias, to gratifie the *Romans* reſolved either to

Who betrays him.

kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive into the hands of *Flaminius*, for which end he ſent a Troop of Souidiers to inviron the lodging where *Hannbal* lay. But *Hannibal* having before found cauſe to ſuſpect the faith of *Pruſias*, had made ſome ſecret ſallies under ground to ſave himſelf from any Treaſonable, or ſudden aſſault. But finding now that all paſſages were ſhut up againſt him, he had recourſe to his laſt remedy, which he was conſtrained to put in practice, as well to fruſtrate his enemies from their Triumphing over him, as to ſave himſelf from their torture and mercileſſe hands, who, as he well knew, would neither reſpect his famous enterpriſes, his Honour, nor his Age. When therefore he ſaw no other way of eſcaping, he took the poiſon, which he alwayes had in readyneſſe for ſuch an exigent, and being ready to ſwallow it down, he uttered theſe

His laſt Speech.

Words, *I will now* (ſaid he) *deliver the* Romans *from the fear which hath ſo long poſſeſſed them: that fear which makes them impatient of attending the Death of an old man. This Victory of* Flaminius *over me, which am diſarmed, and betrayed into his hands, ſhall never be numbred in the reſt of his Heroicall deeds, No: it ſhall make it manifeſt to all the Nations of the World, how far the Antient* Roman *virtue is degenerated, and corrupted. For ſuch was the Nobleneſſe of their fore-fathers, as when King* Pyrrhus *invaided them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them Battel at their own doors, they gave him intelligence of the Treaſon intended againſt him by Poyſon: whenas theſe of a latter race, have imployed* Flaminius, *a man who heretofore hath been one of their Conſuls, to practice with* Pruſias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given for my ſafety, and contrary to the Lawes of Hoſpitality, to ſlay, or deliver up his own Gueſt.* Then drank he off that Poiſon, and

He poiſons himſelf.

died.

P. Scipio

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His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did Sacrifize, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, called his Son *Hannibal*, being than but nine years old,

Who betrays him.

kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive into the hands of *Flaminius*, for which end he ſent a Troop of Souidiers to inviron the lodging where *Hannbal* lay. But *Hannibal* having before found cauſe to ſuſpect the faith of *Pruſias*, had made ſome ſecret ſallies under ground to ſave himſelf from any Treaſonable, or ſudden aſſault. But finding now that all paſſages were ſhut up againſt him, he had recourſe to his laſt remedy, which he was conſtrained to put in practice, as well to fruſtrate his enemies from their Triumphing over him, as to ſave himſelf from their torture and mercileſſe hands, who, as he well knew, would neither reſpect his famous enterpriſes, his Honour, nor his Age. When therefore he ſaw no other way of eſcaping, he took the poiſon, which he alwayes had in readyneſſe for ſuch an exigent, and being ready to ſwallow it down, he uttered theſe

His laſt Speech.

Words, *I will now* (ſaid he) *deliver the* Romans *from the fear which hath ſo long poſſeſſed them: that fear which makes them impatient af attending the Death of an old man. This Victory of* Flaminius *over me, which am diſarmed, and betrayed into his hands, ſhall never be numbred in the reſt of his Heroicall deeds, No: it ſhall make it manifeſt to all the Nations of the World, how far the Antient* Roman *virtue is degenerated, and corrupted. For ſuch was the Nobleneſſe of their fore-fathers, as when King* Pyrrhus *invaided them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them Battel at their own doors, they gave him intelligence of the Treaſon intended againſt him by Poyſon: whenas theſe of a latter race, have imployed* Flaminius, *a man who heretofore hath been one of their Conſuls, to practice with* Pruſias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given for my ſafety, and contrary to the Lawes of Hoſpitality, to ſlay, or deliver up his own Gueſt.* Then drank he off that Poiſon, and

He poiſons himſelf.

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old, cauſed him to lay his hand upon the Alter, and to ſwear, that being come to mans eſtate, he ſhould purſue the *Romans* with immortall hatred, and that he ſhould work them all the miſchief that poſſibly he could.

THE

THE LIFE & DEATH OF EPAMINONDAS, THE GREAT CAPTAINE OF THE THEBANS.

THE Father of *Epaminondas* was *Polymnis*, who was descended of one of the most ancient, and renowned Famelies amongst the *Thebans*, the most part of which Noble linage had upon their Bodies for a naturall Birthmark, the resemblance of a Snake. This *Polimnis* had two only Sons, *Caphisias*, and *Epaminondas*, whom he educated very carefully, and had them very well instructed in all the liberall Arts, and honest Sciences: especially *Epaminondas*, who had the more stayed witt, and Was most inclined to Virtue, desirous to learne, humble, obedient, and wonderfull docible: and of one *Dyonisius* he learned to be very skilfull in Singing, and Musick. And for Philosophy it happened well for him that he fell into an excellent Masters hands by this means.

His Parentage and Education.

His parts.

The

The Colleges of the *Pythagorian* Phyloſophers that were diſperſed through the Cities of *Italy*, were baniſhed by the faction of the *Cylonians*, yet ſuch as ſtill kept together, met in a Councel at *Metapont* to conſider of their affairs: But ſome ſeditious Perſons roſe up againſt them, and ſet the Houſe wherein they were on fire, and burnt them all; onely *Phylolaus* and *Lyſis*, being luſty young men, eſcaped through the fire. *Phylolaus* fled into the Country of the *Lucanians*, and reſided there with his Friends: But *Lyſis* got to *Thebes*, where *Polymnis* intertained him, intreating him to undertake the Tuition of his Son *Epaminondas*, who, though he was but a young Boy, yet was he of good capacity, and of very good Hopes. This Phyloſopher accordingly applyed himſelf to manure this noble and quick wit of *Epaminondas*, and in a ſhort time made him perfect in all Sciences and Virtue, ſo that it was hard to find a more wiſe, grave, and virtuous Perſon than he was,

He exerciſes and ſtudies.

When he was but fifteen years of age, he gave himſelf to all manner of exerciſes of the Body, as to run, wreſtle, uſe his Weapons, and all feats of Arms: and having quickly attained to skill in theſe, he applied himſelf to his Book. He was naturally ſilent, fearfull to ſpeak, but never aweary to hear and learn; whereupon *Spintharus*, the *Tarentine*, being familiarly acquainted with him in *Thebes*, uſed to ſay, *that he never knew any man that knew ſo much, and ſpake ſo little as* Epaminondas. If he fell into any company that diſcourſed of Philoſophy, or of State matters, he would never leave them, till the matter propounded was at an end. He was of a pleaſant diſpoſition, and ſo witty that he could break a jeaſt as well as any man.

His Diſcourſe with a Phyloſopher.

Lyſis after he had lived long in *Thebes*, died, and was honourably buried by his Scholar *Epaminondas*. Not long after, *Theanor*, one of the *Pythagorians* in *Sicily*, was ſent to bring *Lyſis* thither, but when he came to *Thebes*, he found him dead and buried, therefore going to *Epaminondas*, after ſalutations, he told him that his Companions

companions, who were rich, willed him to give *Polymnis*, and his children, a good ſumme of mony in recompence of that curteous entertainment which they had given to *Lyſis*: *Epaminondas*, after pleaſant excuſes made, told him that none could be received, ſaying further, *Jaſon*, a Captaine of the *Theſſalians* thought that I gave him a rude and uncivil anſwer, when he, having earneſtly entreated me to receive a good ſumme of Gold, I ſent him word that he did me wrong, and began to make War with me: for that he, aſpiring to make himſelf a Lord, would corrupt me with mony, who am a plain Citizen of a free Town, and living under the Law. But for thee *Theanor*, I commend thy good will, becauſe its honeſt and virtuous, but I tell thee thou bringeſt Phyſick to them that are not ſick. Admit that thou, hearing we had been in Wars, hadſt brought us Armes to defend us, and when on the contrary thou hadſt found us quiet, and at peace with all our neighbours, thou wouldſt not have thought fit to beſtow theſe Armes, and leave them with thoſe that had no need of them. Even ſo, thou art come to relive our poverty as though it were a burden to us, whereas on the contrary, its an eaſy and pleaſant thing to us to carry, and we are glad we have it in our Houſes amongſt us, and therefore we have no need of Armes, or mony againſt that which doth us no hurt at all. But tell thy brethren that they uſe their goods very honeſtly: and alſo that they have Friends here which uſe their Poverty as well: and as for the intertainment, and burial of *Lyſis*, he hath himſelf fully recompenced us, having taught us, amongſt many other good leſſons, not to be afraid of Poverty, nor to be grieved to ſee it amongſt us. *Theanor* having made ſome reply about the good and evill of Riches, and told him that as Poverty was not evil in it ſelf, ſo neither was Riches to be had in contempt and diſpiſed: No truly (ſaid *Epaminondas*) yet conſidering with my ſelf that we have a World of covetous deſires, ſome naturall that are born with us, and bred in our fleſh by the

luſts pertaining to it: Others ſtrange to us, grounded upon vain opinions, which taking ſetling, and becoming an habit in us by tract of time, and long uſe through evil education, oftentimes do draw us down, and weigh our Souls with more force and violence, than thoſe that be connaturall to us. For reaſon, through daily exerciſe of virtue, and practice thereof, is a meanes to free us from many of thoſe things that are borne, and bred with us. Yet we muſt uſe continuall force and oppoſition againſt our concupiſences which are ſtrangers to us, to quench them, and by all poſſible meanes to repreſſe, and ſubdue them in us.

And when this is done, there is alſo (ſaid he) an exerciſe of juſtice againſt greedy Covetouſneſſe, and a deſire of getting, which is not, not to go rob our neighbours Houſes, nor, not to rob men by the high way, nor not to betray our Friends, or Country for mony: for ſuch an one oppoſeth, not covetouſneſſe, but poſſibly, its Law, or feare that bridleth his covetous deſire to offend: But that man that ofttimes willingly abſtaines from juſt gaines, he it is that by exerciſe keeps himſelf far from unjuſt, and unlawfull taking of mony. For it is impoſſible in great pleaſures that are wicked and dangerous, the Soul ſhould contain it ſelf from luſting after them, unleſſe formerly, being oft at his choiſe to uſe them, he had contemned them. Its not eaſy to overcome them, nor to refuſe great Riches when they are offered, unleſſe a man long before hath killed in him this covetous deſire of getting, the which, beſides many other habits and actions, is ſtill greedily bent ſhamefully to gaine, pleaſiing himſelf in the purſuit of Injuſtice, hardly forbearing to wrong an other ſo he may benefit himſelf. But that man that diſdaines to receive gifts from his Friends, and refuſeth Preſents offered him by Kings, and that hath rejected the bounty of Fortune, puting by all covetous deſires of gliſtering Treaſures laid before him, he ſhall never be tempted to do that which is unjuſt, nor ſhall his mind be troubled, but he will con-

tent

tent himself quietly to do any thing that is honest, having an upright heart, finding nothing in it but that which is good and commendable. Yet was the Life of *Epaminondas* far mor excellent than his discourse, as will appear by that which follows.

Diomedon, the *Cizicenian*, at the request of *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, promised to winne *Epaminondas* to take the *Persians* part. To effect this, he came to *Thebes*, and brought a great masse of Gold with him, and with three Thousand Crowns of it, he bribed a young man called *Mycethus*, who was greatly beloved by *Epaminondas*. This young man went to him and told him the occasion of the other mans coming to *Thebes*: But *Diomedon* being present, *Epaminondas* said to him, I have no need of mony: If the King of *Persia* wish well to the *Thebans*, I am at his service without taking one penny: If he hath any other meaning, he hath not Gold nor Silver enough wherewith to corrupt me: For I will not sell the love which I bear to my Country for all the Gold in the World: and as for thee that dost now tempt me, not knowing me, but judging me like unto thy self, I pardon thee for this time, but get thee quickly out of the City lest thou corrupt others, having failed to prevail over me: and for thee *Mycethus*, deliver him his mony again, which if thou dost not presently, I will send thee before a Justice.

His contempt of Riches.

Hereupon *Diomedon* besought him that he would let him go away in safety, and carry that with him which he brought thither: Yea (said *Epaminondas*) but it shall not be for thy sake, but for my honour-sake, lest thy Gold and Silver being taken from thee, some man should accuse me that I had a share in that privately which I had refused openly. Saying further, whither wouldst thou that I should cause thee to be conveyed? To *Athens*, said *Diomedon*: This was done accordingly, and he had a strong convoy sent with him, and that he might not be troubled by the way, betwixt the Gates of *Thebes* and the Haven wherein he was to imbark himself, *Epaminondas* gave *Chabrias* the *Athenian* charge of him,

that he ſhould ſee him ſafe at his jorneys end.

His Poverty.

Though *Epaminondas* was very Poor, yet would he never take any thing of his Citizens or Friends: and being ſo inured to poverty, he was enabled to bear it the more patiently by his ſtudy of Philoſophy. For on a time, having the leading of an Army of the *Thebans* into the Country of *Peloponneſus*, he borrowed five Crownes of a Citizen for the defraying of his neceſſary chatges in that Journey. *Pelopidas* being a man of great wealth and his very good Friend, could never poſſibly force upon him any part of his Goods, but he rather learned of him to love Poverty. For *Epaminondas* taught him to think it an honour to go plainly in his Apparrel, to eat moderately, to take paines willingly, and in War to fight luſtily. Yet when he had occaſion to relieve others, he would make bold with his Friends goods, which in ſuch caſes were common to him. If any of his Citizens were

His Charity.

taken Priſoners by the Enemy, or if any Friend of his had a Daughter to be married, and was not able to beſtow her, he uſed to call his Friends together, and to aſſeſſe every one of them at a certain ſumme, after which he brought him before them who was to receive the mony, and told him how much every one had beſtowed upon him, that he might returne thanks to them all.

But once he went far beyond this: For he ſent a poor Friend of his to a Rich Citizen of *Thebes* to ask of him ſix hundred Crownes, and to tell him that *Epaminondas* deſired him to let him have them. The Citizen being amazed at his demand, went to *Epaminondas* to know what he meant to charge him ſo deeply, as to make him to give ſix hundred Crowns to the other? It is (ſaid *Epaminondas*) becauſe this man, being an honeſt man, is poor, and thou who haſt robbed the Commonwealth of much, art rich.

His Sobriety.

He lived ſo ſoberly, and was ſuch an enemy to all ſuperfluity and exceſſe, that being on a time invited to Supper to one of his Neighbours, when he ſaw great preparation of dainty meats, made diſhes, and perfumes, he

ſaid

ſaid unto him, I thought thou hadſt made a Sacrifice by this exceſſe and ſuperfluity, and ſo immediatly went his way. The like alſo he ſpake of his own Table, ſaying, that ſuch an Ordinary, was never guilty of Traytors, and Treaſon. On a time being at a Feaſt with ſome of his Companions, he drank Vinegar, and when they asked him what he meant by it, and whether he drank it for his health? I know not (ſaid he) but this I am ſure of, it puts me in remembrance how I live at home. Now it was not that his ſtomach was an enemy to dainty meats, or that he lived ſo penuriouſly at home, for he was marvelous noble minded: But he did it, that by his ſtrict and unreprovable life, he might bridle and reſtraine many inſolencies and diſorders which then raigned amongſt the *Thebans*, and to reduce them to the former temperance of their Anceſtors.

Upon a time, a Cook giving up an account to him and his Fellows of their ordinary expences for certain dayes, he could find fault with nothing but the quantity of Oyle that was ſpent: which his Companions marvelling at; Tuſh (ſaid he) it is not the expence which offends me, but becauſe we have powred in ſo much Oyle into our Bodies. The City of *Thebes* upon an occaſion made a publick Feaſt, where they were very merry, and jolly: But on the Contrary, *Epaminondas* went up and down without Oyle and perfumes, or decked with brave apparell, ſeeming very ſad: Some of his Familiar Friends meeting him in this poſture, and wondering at him, asked him why he walked ſo alone, and ill apparrelled through the City? Becauſe (ſaid he) you may in the meane time freely and ſafely drink your ſelves drunk, and make merry, taking thought for nothing.

His Vigilance.

His modeſty alſo was ſuch, that it would in no wiſe ſuffer him to ſeek advancement, but on the contrary he withdrew himſelf from Government, that he might with the more quiet apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. It happened upon a time that the *Lacedemonians* intreated aide of the *Thebans*, who at that time were in League

League with them, and acordingly they ſent them certain Foot Companies: at which time *Epaminondas* being about thirty five years old, Armed himſelf and went along with them. At this time it was, that that intimate Friendſhip began betwixt *Pelopidas* and him, which continued even to the end of their lives. Theſe two being in a Battel the one by the other againſt the *Arcatians*, whom they had in front againſt them in the plaines of *Mantinea*, it fell out that one of the points of the Battel of the *Lacedemonians* in which they were, retired, and many fled: But theſe two reſolved rather to dy than fly, and accordingly they ſtood to it gallantly, till *Pelopidas* being wounded in ſeven places, fell down upon a heap of dead Bodies. Then did *Epaminondas* (though he took him for dead) ſtep reſolutly before him to defend his Body and Armes, he alone fighting againſt many, reſolving rather to die in the place than to leave *Pelopidas* amongſt the dead men, until that himſelf being thruſt into the breaſt with a Pike, and wounded in the Arme with a Sword, was ready to faint: at which time Providence ſo ordered it, that King *Ageſipolis* came on with the other point of the Battel, and ſaved them both.

His Valor.

Not long after the *Lacedemonians* by a ſtratagem, won the ſtrong Caſtle of *Thebes* called *Cadmæa*, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it, and gave the Government of the City of *Thebes* unto *Archias*, *Philippus*, and *Leontidas*, authors of all the miſchief: whereupon, to avoid their Tyranny, *Pelopidas*, and many others were fain to ſave themſelves by flight, upon which they were baniſhed by ſound of Trumpet. But as for *Epaminondas* they as yet ſaid nothing to him, but let him alone in the City: for he was contemned as a man of no account, becauſe he was ſo much given to his Book: and if he ſhould have any mind to ſtir againſt them, yet they judged he could could do nothing becauſe of his Poverty.

Tyran's in *Thebes*.

Whileſt *Pelopidas* and his Companions were at *Athens*, they laid a plot to free *Thebes* from thoſe Tyrants: But *Epaminondas* not making a ſhew of any thing, had deviſed

ſed an other way to effect it, by raiſing the hearts and courages of the young men of the City. For when they went out to play, and exerciſe themſelves, he alwayes found out a way to make them wreſtle with the *Lacedomonians*; and when he ſaw the *Lacedomonians* throw them, and give them ſhrewd falls, they being the ſtronger, he would prvately rebuke the *Thebans* and tell them, that it was a ſhame for them to ſuffer the *Lacedomonians* to ſet their feet upon their throats for want of courage, who yet were not half ſo ſtrong, and boiſterous as themſelves were. All this while *Pelopidas* and his followers went on in their Plot, and had ſuch good ſucceſs, that one night they got privily into the City of *Thebes* and met at *Charons* Houſe about forty eight in number. *Epaminondas* knew all this well enough, and at night ſome took him aſide and endeavoured to perſwade him to joyn with them in delivering their City from theſe Tyrants, to whom he anſwered, that he had taken order with his Friends, and *Gorgidas*, to put themſelves into a readineſs upon any ſuch occaſion, but for his own part he would not have a hand in putting any of his Citizens to death, unleſs they were legally condemned: yet (ſaid he) if you will make an attempt for the delivery of the City ſo as that it be without murther or blood-ſhed, I will joyn with you with all my heart: But if you will perſevere in your former determination, pray you let me alone, pure, and not defiled with the blood of my Citizens, that being blameleſs I may take hold of another occaſion which may tend more to the good of the common wealth. For the murthers that will be committed in this way, cannot be contained within any reaſonable bounds. I know indeed that *Pherecides*, and *Pelopidas* will eſpecially ſet upon the Authors of the Tyranny: but *Ismolpidas*, and *Samiadas*, being fierce and Cholerick men, taking the liberty of the night, will never ſheath their ſwords, till they have filled the whole City with murther, and ſlain many of the chief Citizens. Beſides, its very convenient for

His prudence.

for the People of *Thebes*, that ſome be left free, and blameleſſe of theſe murthers, and guiltleſſe of all that ſhould be done in the fury of this action.

The Tyrants ſlain.

Notwithſtanding all that was ſaid, the enterpriſe was executed, and the Tyrants put to death, the City was reſtored to her ancient liberty, the Caſtle of *Cadmæa* was rendred up by compoſition, and *Lyſandridas*, the *Lacedemonian*, and other Commanders that were in it, were ſuffered ſafely to depart, with their goods and Souldiers. This was the occaſion of the long Wars which followed between the *Lacedomonians* and *Thebans*, with whom the *Athenians* joyned in League.

His Modeſty.

Epaminondas ſtill applyed himſelf to his Book: yet at laſt he was put forwards by *Pammenes*, a chief man amongſt the *Thebans*, and he began to follow the Wars very eagerly, and in divers encounters gave good proof of his prudence, hardineſſe, and valour, inſomuch as by degrees he attained to the higheſt charges of Government in the Commonwealth: and his Citizens, who before

He is advanced to Honour.

made ſmall account of him till he was fourty years old, after, when they knew him better, they truſted him with their Armies, and he ſaved the City of *Thebes*, that was like to be undone, yea, and freed all *Greece* from the ſervitude of the *Lacedemonians*, making his virtue, as in a cleer light, to ſhine with Glory, ſhewing the effects when time ſerved.

Upon a time *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacædemon* entered into *Bœotia* with an Army of twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, wherewith he harraſed and ſpoiled all the plain Country, and preſented Battel to the *Thebans* in the open Fields, which yet they would not accept of, finding themſelves the weaker: Howbeit, they defended themſelves ſo well by the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, and the wiſe conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, that they cauſed *Ageſilaus* to return home with his Army. But when he was gone, the *Thebans* went with their Companies before the City of *Theſpies*, which they ſurprized, and put to the Sword two hundred of the Gar-

The *Spartans* beaten.

riſon

riſon, and afterwards returned back with their Army to *Thebes*; and *Phæbidas*, the *Lacedemonian*, who was then Governour of that City, ſallyed out of the Town, and charged upon the *Thebans* in their retreat, who intertained him ſo hotly, that he loſt five hundred of his men, and himſelf was ſlain in the fight.

Not long after, the *Lacedemonians* returned with their former Army to make War with the *Thebans*, who having ſeized upon certain ſtraights, and places of advantage, ſo blocked up the way that they could not over run the Country, and ſpoile it as they had done before; yet did *Ageſilaus* ſo moleſt, and trouble them, that at laſt it came to a main Battel that held long, and was very cruel: A Battel. and though at the firſt *Ageſilaus* had the better, yet the *Thebans* charged him ſo furiouſly, that at the length he himſelf was wounded and forced to retire, being well paid for teaching the *Thebans* Millitary Diſcipline. And this was the firſt time that the *Thebans* knew themſelves to be as ſtrong and luſty as the *Lacedemonians*, whereupon they Triumphed in ſigne of Victory, and from that time forward, they grew more couragious to make head againſt the Enemy, and to preſent them battel. But that which moſt encouraged them, was, the preſence of *Epaminondas*, who counſelled, commanded, and executed very wiſely, valiantly, and with great ſucceſſe.

At another time they went with a great number of choſen men before the City of *Orchomene*, where yet they prevailed not, becauſe there was a ſtrong Garriſon of the *Lacedemonians* that ſallied out upon them, and the fight was very ſharp betwen them: yet, though the *Lacedemonians* were far more in number, the *Thebans* gave them the overthrow, which never happened to them before. The Spartans beaten. For all other Nations thought that they had done excellent well, if with a far greater number they had overcome a ſmall numbet of the *Lacedemonians*. But this Victory, and an other, which fell out ſhortly after under the conduct of *Pelopidas*, did ſo lift up and encourage the *Thebans*, that they became more famous than ever they were before.

The year following, *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, intending to make War againſt *Ægypt*, and therein to intertain diverſe ſtrangers, laboured to make Peace amongſt the *Grecians*, in hope that they, being at Peace amongſt themſelves would be the more willing to have Souldiers leavied amongſt them. For which end he ſent Ambaſſadours to all the Townes of *Greece*, to preſwade and intreat them to be at Peace amongſt themſelves. The *Greeks* were very willing to harken hereto, being wearied on all ſides with ſuch long Wars, and ſo were eaſily drawn to make Peace; wherein it was eſpecially agreed, and concluded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be free, and uſe their own Lawes: and Commiſſioners were ſent abroad to withdraw all the Garriſons where any were kept. Unto this the *Thebans* only refuſed to agree, that every Town ſhould ſeverally capitulate for it, requeſting that the Towns in the Country of *Bœotia* ſhould be comprehended under the City of *Thebes*: but the *Athenians* mightily oppoſed themſelves againſt this, and *Caliſtratus*, one of their Orators, made a notable Oration about it before all the States of *Greece*. *Epaminondas* on the contrary, made an excellent and vehement ſpeech in defence of the right of the *Thebans*, inſomuch as this controverſy was left undecided, and the Treaty of Peace was univerſally agreed to amongſt all the other *Grecians*, the *Thebans* only excepted, who were not compriſed in it.

Peace among the *Greeks*.

The *Thebans* are excepted.

At this time the *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians*, who had long contended amongſt themſelves about the Principality of *Greece*, now agreed, that the one ſhould command by Sea, and the other by Land: And therefore they could not endure that the *Thebans* ſhould aſpire to be chief, which made them ſeek to diſmember the other Towns of *Bœotia* from them, the rather, for that the *Thebans*, being ſtrong and luſty of Body, and much encouraged by their late Victories over the *Lacedemonians*, would now contend with them for their ſuperiority, having a wonderfull confidence in the Wiſdom and Pro-

weſſe of their Captaines, eſpecially of *Epaminondas*.

Matters reſting thus doubtfull, the Citizens of *Plataes*, a Town of *Bœotia*, were deſirous to enter into League with the *Athenians*, promiſing that if they would ſend them Souldiers, they would put the Town into their hands: But the Governours of *Bœotia* having intelligence of it, and being deſirous to prevent the *Athenians*, brought a party of Souldiers againſt it, who came before *Plataes* before the Citizens heard any newes of them, ſo that part of them were ſurpriſed in the Field by the Horſmen, and the reſt fled into the Town: where having no aid, they were faign to accept of ſuch tearmes as it pleaſed the *Thebans* to grant them, which were, preſently to depart the Town with bag and baggage, and never to returne again into the Country of *Bœotia*. Then did they raze the City to the ground, and ſaked the Town of *Theſpies* which alſo was at enmity with them. *Plataes* deſtroyed.

The Ambaſſadours of *Perſia* againſolicited the *Grecks* to a Generall Peace, and Commiſſioners from every Town were to meet at *Sparta* about it. *Epaminondas* was yet ſcarce known, having laboured to conceal himſelf, and in all his exploits of War, had ever preferred the advancement of his great Friend, and Companion in Armes, *Pelopidas*, before himſelf. He was now choſen by ỹ *Thebans* to go to *Sparta*, where, finding that the other Commiſſioners did much comply with *Ageſilaus*, he ſpake boldly, and plainly, not only in behalf of the *Thebans*, but for all *Greece* alſo: making it evident to all, that War ſtill encreaſed the greatneſſe of *Sparta* only, which kept all the other Towns of *Greece* under. He therefore adviſed them to eſtabliſh a firme Peace, which would laſt the longer, when all comprized in it ſhould be equals. His wiſdom.

Ageſilaus perceiving all the Commiſſioners to be very attentive to and well pleaſed with this ſpeech, he asked him aloud, if he thought it juſt and equall, that all *Bœotia* ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Epaminondas* preſently, and boldly asked him, if he thought it not alſo juſt and reaſonable that all *Laconia* ſhould be ſet at liberty? Thereupon *Age-* And courage.

ſilaus, in great anger, ſtood up, and commanded him to anſwer plainly, if they ſhould not reſtore all the Towns in *Bœotia* to their Liberty? and *Epaminondas* anſwered him as before. This ſo diſpleaſed *Ageſilaus* (who had an old grudge to the *Thebans*) that immediatly he put their Name out of the Liſt of thoſe that ſhould be comprized within the Treaty of Peace, and proclaimed open War againſt them, and now there was no remedy but the *Thebans* muſt bear the whole brunt alone, for there was no one Town that durſt ſend them any aid, becauſe they were all ſworn to the Peace, inſomuch as all judged them to be utterly undone. Friends pittied there eſtate, and their enemies rejoyced, verily believing that they could never ſtand before the *Lacedemonians*.

Then did the *Lacedemonians* ſend King *Cleombrotus* with an Army towards *Thebes*, who being come neer to *Chæronea* with ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, he pitched, his Camp there ſtaying for his Allies. The *Thebans* being informed of the approach of the enemy, choſe *Epaminondas* to be their Captain Generall, giving him the charge of this War, with ſix other Counſellers to be aſſiſting to him. Now there came Oracles to *Thebes* from all parts; ſome promiſing Victory, and others threatening their overthrow; and *Epaminondas* commanded them to ſet thoſe on the right hand of the chaire for Orations, that promiſed Victory, and the other on the left hand, which being ſo diſpoſed of, he gat up into the chaire, and ſaid to his Citizens, *If you will be obedient to your Captains, and valiant againſt your enemies, theſe Oracles on the right hand belong to you: But if through faintneſs of heart, ye refuſe dangers, thoſe on the left hand ſhall be your Portion.*

His Prudence.

Then did he liſt the Names of all the *Thebans* which were able to bear Armes, and choſe out of ſome parts of *Bœotia*, ſuch as he thought fitteſt for the Wars. His Preſence exceedingly cheered up his Army, and all the time that he was Captain, the *Thebans* never ſaw in their Campany of thoſe which they call *ſudden feares*. He uſed

to

to ſay, that there was no Death more honeſt and deſirable than to die in the Wars, and that the body of a Souldier ſhould be hardened to endure any labour or paines. He could not abide fat men, and therefore caſhired a whole Company of them as unprofitable burdens in his Army. He had in all, but ſix thouſand fighting men : and as they marched forwards, they met with ſome unlucky ſignes, as many eſteemed them ; but he valued them not, thinking that a reſolution to fight in a good cauſe, ought to be much ſtronger, and of more force to raiſe up in him good Hope, than theſe evill ſignes that appeared, to make him fear the worſt.

Fat men caſhired.

As he was marching towards the *Lacedemonians*, they heard it Thunder, and they that were neer him, asked him what that meant. He anſwered, that it betokened that the Enemies braines were troubled, and beclouded, who, having places of advantage hard by them, yet encamped in the plaines. Indeed the *Lacedemonians* waited there for their Allies, who yet failed them. For all of them, having at leaſure conſidered of the ſpeech of *Epaminondas* at *Sparta*, began to diſtaſt the ambition of the *Lacedemonians*. *Epaminondas* ſeeing his advantage, cauſed his Army to march with ſpeed, and wan the ſtraights by the City of *Coronea*, and encamped there: *Cleombrotus* underſtanding that the *Thebans* had poſſeſſed themſelves of that paſſe, deſpairing to recover it, he made his Army to march a great compaſſe about the Country of *Phocide*, going along the Sea Coaſt through a dangerous, and troubleſome way, and ſo at the laſt he entered into the Country of *Bœotia* : and as he went, he took in ſome little Towns, and certain Gallies that lay upon the Coaſt, and at the laſt arrived at *Leuctres*, and there ſate down to refreſh his men, who were overwearied with their tedious march. Then did *Epaminindas* preſently advance that way to meet them, and having paſſed over ſome little Mountaines, he diſcovered them in the plain of *Leuctres*, where his men were much amazed to ſee ſo great an Army of their Enemies.

His Prudence.

The

The ſix Counſellors came together to conſider whether they ſhould go forward and fight, few againſt many, or elſe retreat, waiting for ſome beter advantage. In this Councel, their opinions fell out to be equall. Three judged it beſt to retreat, the other, whereof *Epaminondas* was one, thought it beſt to fight, and with theſe three, *Pelopidas*, who was Captain of the Sacred Band, joyned, whereupon they all agreed to give them Battel. *Epaminondas* ſeeing his Souldiers ſomewhat affrighted at the former ill ſignes, to put courage into them, he ſuborned ſome that were newly come from *Thebes*, to ſcatter a report, that no man could tell at *Thebes* what was become of the Armes that hung up in the Temple of *Hercules*; but it was commonly ſaid, that the Demigods, their Anceſtors, had taken them away, to aid their poſterity, at this preſent time. He cauſed another alſo, who was newly come from *Trophonius* hole, to report, that the God which gives his Oracles therein, commanded him to tell the *Bœotians* that when they had overcome their enemies in the plain of *Leuctres*, they ſhould celebrate yearly Playes to the honour of *Jupiter*: and to gain the more credit to theſe devices, *Leandridas*, a *Spartan*, that was baniſhed out of his own Country, and now was aſſiſting the *Bœotians*, being brought before the Souldiers, he encouraged them to fight valiantly that Day: For he ſwore unto them, that the *Lacedemonians* had many Oracles, biding them to beware of *Leuctres*.

And Policy.

Epaminondas alſo, aſſembling his Army, encouraged them with ſtrong, and lively reaſons, to ſhew their valour, ſo that at laſt Souldiers being freed from their ſuperſtitious feares, longed for nothing more than to come to blowes. *Epaminondas* ever concluded his Orations to them with theſe Words: *O worthy men, embrace ſacred Death: Advance your ſelves to a moſt honorable, and famous Fight for your Country, for the Tombes of your Anceſtors, and for your Holy things.* Juſt at this very time there came to the *Thebans* an aid of five hundred Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, all *Theſſalians*, conducted by *Jaſon*. This *Jaſon* endeavored

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to have made peace with both parties, but could not prevail.

Alſo as *Cleombrotus* retired with his Army out of *Bœotia*, he met a great ſupply of *Lacedemonians*, and their Allies, brought to him by *Archidamus*, the Son of *Ageſilaus*. Theſe he ſent before, thinking to daunt the courage of the *Thebans* with the ſight of them, and himſelf with the reſt of his Army ſuddenly returned into the plain of *Leuctres*, being fully reſolved to fight: and the *Bœotians* for their part ſhrunk not an inch back, and ſo on both ſides they ſet their men in Battel array. *Epaminondas* ordered his Battel after a new faſhion never before practiſed by any Captain: For having choſen out of his Army the beſt, and moſt valiant Souldiers, he placed them together in one of the Points of his Battel, where himſelf meant to fight in Perſon, ſeconded by *Pelopidas*, and his three hundred choſen men, called the *Holy Band*: In the other Point he placed his weaker men, commanding them expreſly not to abide the charge of their enemies that ſhould aſſaile them in Front, but fair, and ſoftly retire when they ſaw them come near them: and it fell out as he wiſhed: and he hoped to determine the Battel by the virtue, and proweſs of thoſe where he had placed all the flower, and choice of his Army. A Battel

Now the ſign of Battel being given, the *Lacedemonians* advanced with the two Horns of their Battel, ordered in the form of a Creſcent. On the contrary, one of the wings of the Battel of the *Bœotians* began to give back, and the other with great fury ran to charge the enemy in the Flank, and ſoon they were come to the Swords point. At the firſt, becauſe either ſide fought deſperately, the Victory for a time ſtood doubtfull, But at laſt *Epaminondas* his Troop brake in amongſt the *Lacedemonians*, and ſlew moſt of thoſe that were about *Cleombrotus*. Yet while the King was alive, he kept back the *Thebans* from the victory, being accompanied with all the flower of his Army, who fought very valiantly about him: But after he fell dead to the ground, having received

received and given an infinite number of wounds, then thronged they together on all sides, and there was a bloody and cruell fight about his Body, where were heaps of men slain one upon another, and though *Epaminondas* did all that possibly he could, yet the *Lacedemonians* made such resistance, that at last they forced the *Thebans* somewhat to give back, whereby they conveyed the Body of the King out of the presse: But this continued not long: For *Epaminondas* both by his words and example, did so raise up and encourage the hearts of his men, that they fought like Lyons, and gave so fierce a second charge upon their enemies, that they wholly routed them and made them fly for life, and *Epaminondas* fiercely pursuing the flying enemy, made a great slaughter of them, and obtained the most glorious victory that ever Captain won, having in a pitched Field overcome the most Noble, and warlike Nation of all *Greece*, and that with a far smaller number of men than his enemies had. He also rejoyced more in this, than in all his other victories, because it happened to him in his Fathers life-time: and he often used to say, that of all the honest and happy Fortunes that befell him, nothing joyed his heart more, than that he had vanquished the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctres*, his Father and Mother living to see it: and indeed, he that day, did not onely preserve their lives, but of all his Citizens besides, the *Lacedemonians* having fully resolved utterly to destroy the *Thebans*.

The Spartans bearen.

His Humility.

Epaminondas used at all other times to come abroad fine and neat, and with a pleasant countenance: but the next day after this Battel, he came out very sad, heavy, and pensive, and when his Friends asked him, whether he had heard any ill news which occasioned this posture, he said, *No: but* (said he) *I perceive by my self yesterday, that being overjoyed with the victory I obtained, my heart was more elevated than it ought, and therefore to day I correct that joy, which yesterday exceeded its due bounds.* He knowing that it was the manner of the *Spartans*, as much as possible, to conceal their losses, he suffered them not to

carry

carry away all their dead Bodies together, but every City one after another, by which it appeared that there were four Thousand of them slain: But of the *Boœtians* there were not found above three hundred dead. This Battel was fought in the beginning of the second year of the hundred and second *Olympiade*.

The *Lacedemonians* having by this overthrow lost the greatest part of their honour, which they had maintained so long, yet lost not their courage; but to keep their youth still in heart, and to take away all fear from such as had escaped, they sent *Agesilaus*, with an Army into *Arcadia*, who was contented to take a few small Towns of the *Mantineans*, and so to return home again. Some say that *Lycomedes*, Captain of the *Arcadians*, making an inrode neer to *Orchomene*, slew in an encounter, *Politropus*, Captain of the *Lacedemonians*, and two hundred *Spartans* with him, which provoked the *Lacedemonians* against them: and thereupon the *Arcadians*, finding themselves too weak for them, they sought alliance and aid from the *Thebans*. Sure it is that these two States were now at enmity, which occasioned the *Arcadians* and *Thebans* to joyn together, who, with their Allies being led by *Epaminondas* entered into *Laconia*, with an Army of fourty thousand men, besides thirty thousand others that followed the Camp. At this time the *Athenians* sent Captain *Iphecrates*, with twelve thousand men, to aide the *Lacedemonians*: But before their coming, *Epaminondas* was entered into *Laconia*, and had sacked all the Country which had not been wasted by any enemy for six hundred years before.

He plunders *Laconia*.

The *Spartans* seeing their Country thus plundred, and destroyed, were desirous to have gone out with such Forces as they had, but *Agesilaus* would not suffer them, telling them how dangerous it was for them to leave their City, and to set upon such a potent, and numerous enemy. This made them quiet: and *Epaminondas* in the mean time marched with his Ar-

my towards the River *Eurotas*, which at that time was risen very high, because of the Winter raines. He endeavoured all he could, to draw forth *Agesilaus* to a Battel, who beholding *Epaminondas* a great while, marching with his Army in Battel aray along the River side at the Head of his Troops, he wondred at his boldnesse, and Valour, but would by no meanes adventure out of his Fort: So that when this Army had plundred all *Laconia*, *Epaminondas* led them back again laden with a very rich Booty. And though *Agesilaus* was commended for preserving his City in safety; yet *Epaminondas* had by this inrode, and especially by his Victory at *Leuctres*, so impoverished the Country, that *Sparta* could never after recover that losse, nor grow into that reputation and power which it had before. Yea, notwithstanding the aide sent by the *Athenians*, and the skill and experience of *Iphicrates*, *Epaminondas* returned with his Army intire as he came.

He braves the *Spartans*.

Epaminondas that he might keep the *Lacedemonians* still underfoot, and heape new troubles upon them, gave Counsell to the *Arcadians*, and their Allies, to reedify, and repleniſh with People the City of *Messina*, which the *Lacedemonians* had long before destroyed, and when all the whole Councel had given their consents to it, he forthwith, by diligent enquiry sought out all that had been ancient Inhabitants in that City, and in the space of eighty five Dayes, having repaired the ruined Houses, he raised again one of the most Noble, and ancient Cities of *Greece*, and left there a strong Garrison for their security. This gat him as much, if not more love and honour than any other service which he had ever done,

Messina reedified.

The *Lacedemonians* being freed from a great fear by his departure, made an agreement with the *Athenians*, leaving to them the chief command by Sea, and reserving to themselves that by Land. And afterwards, by the assistance of the *Athenians* and that aide which

came

came to them out of *Sicily*, by little and little they recovered their Towns again.

The *Arcadians*, to stop their proceedings, assaulted ye City of *Pallene* in *Laconia*, and taking it by storme, put all the Garrison therein to the Sword, & then razed the Town, and plundred all the Country there abouts. And expecting that the *Lacedemonians* would seek revenge, they sent for aid to the *Thebans*, who sent *Epaminondas* and the other Counsellers to assist them with six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. The *Athenians* having intelligence hereof, sent their Army under the Conduct of *Chabrias*, who marched directly to *Corinth*, where he met with a good supply of Souldiers from the *Megarians*, *Pallenians*, and *Corinthians*, so that now he had a Brigade of ten thousand men. These intended to fortifie and stop all the passages and entrances into the Country of *Poloponesus*. The *Lacedemonians* and their Allies joyning also with them, made up an Army of twenty thousand men: And accordingly, beginning at the City of *Cencrees*, unto the Haven of *Lecheum*, they blocked all the wayes from one Sea to an other with mighty great peices of Timber laid acrosse, and with a marvelous deep ditch: and this great work was followed with such speed, both by reason of the great multitude of labourers, as also through the forwardnesse of them that prosecuted it with such earnestnesse, that they had quite finished it before the *Bœotians* could arrive there.

Pallene destroyed.

Peloponesus fortified.

Epaminondas when he came thither, viewing this fortification, perceiving that the easiest place to storme it, was that which the *Lacedemonians* themselves guarded, he sent to give them defiance though they were thrice as many in number as he was, yet for all this they durst not come out, but kept close under their fortification: Notwitstanding he assaulted them in it, and at last drave them out. In the heat of the fight every one doing his best, some assailing, others defending, *Epaminondas* chose out the valiantest men in

all his Army, and bravely charging the *Lacedemonians*, he forced them to give back, and in dispite of them, he entred into *Peloponnesus*, which of all other his Noble exploites, was the most wonderfull and memorable action. From thence he marched to the Cities of *Epidaure*, and *Troezen*, and so pillaged all the Country: But he staied not to take any of the Towns, because they had strong Garrisons in them: Yet he put *Sicyone*, *Phuente*, and some other Towns into such fear, that they yeilded themselves to him.

He beates the *Spartans*.

This being done, he went to *Corinth*, and overcame the *Corinthians* in a set Battel, and beat them home, even to the Gates of their City: Yea some of his men were so unadvised, trusting to their own valour, that they entered the Gates of their City pel mel with those that fled, which put the *Corinthians* into such a terrible fear, that they ran with all speed possible to shelter themselves in their Houses: But *Chabrias* making head, beat them out again, and slew some, whereupon he caused a token of Triumph to be set up, as if he had given the *Thebans* an overthrow, for which *Epaminondas* laughed him to scorn. The *Bœotians* brought their Army as neer unto *Corinth* as they could, and *Chabrias* with his Army encamped without the Walls in a very strong Place of advantage, and there were many Skirmishes betwixt them, in which *Chabrias* behaved himself with such Valour that he gained great reputation even of *Epaminondas* himself, who upon a time being asked, whom he thought to be the Greatest Captain, himself, *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates? Its hard* (said he) *to judge whilst we are all alive.*

Newes was brought to him that the *Athenians* had again sent an Army into *Poloponnesus*, furnished with new Armor: Indeed this Army consisted of ten thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, whom *Dyonisius* the Tyrant, sent out of *Sicily* to aide the *Lacedemonians*, having paid them for five moneths: they did some reasonable ser-

vice in this War, and at the end of Summer returned home again.

It fell out in these last encounters that *Epaminondas* having forced the *Lacedemonians* that guarded the fortification before mentioned, had many of them in his power to have slain them : but he contented himself only with this Glory, that in dispite of them, he had entered into *Peloponnesus*, seeking to do them no more hurt; which gave occasion to those that envied his Glory, to blame him, and to accuse him of Treason, as having willingly spared the enemies, because they should in particular thank him only: But here it will not be improper to take notice how he behaved himself amongst his Citizens, and how wisely he defended his own Integrity. His Clemency.

Amongst all those that envied his Glory and virtue, there was one *Menecl*ides, an Orator, and an eloquent man, but with all, most wicked, and very malicious. He finding that *Epaminondas* won so much honour by the Wars, never left perswading the *Thebans* to embrace Peace, and prefer it before War, and that because hereby they should not alwayes live under the obedience, and command of one man. But *Epaminondas* one day told him in the open Counsel: Thou wilt (said he) deceive the *Thebans* whilst thou advisest them to leave the Wars : and highly commending ease and Peace, thou goest about to put iron bolts upon their feet. For War begets Peace, which yet cannot hold long but amongst them that know how to maintain it with the Sword. Then turning himself to the Citizens, he said, If you will have the Principallity and command of all *Greece*, you must shroud your selves in your Tents, and lie in your Pavillions in the open Fields, and not follow sports and Pastimes here at home. For he knew well enough that the *Bœotians* undid themselves by ease and Idleness, which made him endeavour continually to keep them in exercise and War. He is envied.

Upon

Upon a time when the *Thebans* were to chooſe Captains, they went about to chooſe *Epaminondas*, one of the ſix counſellers, whereupon he ſaid to them: *My Maſters, pray you conſider of it now you are at leaſure before you chooſe me: For I tell you plainly, if I be choſen your Captain you muſt to the Wars.* He uſed to call the Country of *Bœotia*, which was a plain, and Champion Country, the Stage of War, ſaying, that it was impoſſible to keep it, unleſſe the Inhabitants had their Targets on their Armes, and their Swords in their hands: and this was not, becauſe he did not love Peace, and privacy to ſtudy Philoſophy, or that he was not more carefull of them that were under his charge than he was of himſelf, uſing alwayes to watch and forbear his meat, when the *Thebans* were at their Banquets, and Feaſts, giving themſelves over to their pleaſures: but becauſe he knew them well enough, and was never more carefull of any thing than to keep his Army from idleneſſe.

Upon a time the *Arcadians* deſired him that ſome of his Companies might come into one of their Towns to lie dry and warm there, all the winter, but he would by no means yeild to it. For (ſaid he to his Souldiers) now they ſee you exerciſing your ſelves in Arms, they wonder at you as brave and valiant men; but if they ſhould ſee you at the fire ſide parching of Beans, they would eſteem no better of you than of themſelves. Neither could he endure Covetouſneſs: for if at ſometimes he gave his men leave to go a free-booting, his meaning was, that whatſoever they got, ſhould be beſtowed in furniſhing them with good Arms: and if any went about to fill his Purſe with money he judged him unworthy to be a Souldier. Upon a time he underſtood that his Target-bearer had received a great ſumme of money for the ranſome of a Priſoner, whereupon he ſaid to him: *Give me my Target, and go thy wayes home, and buy thee a Tavern wherein to ſpend the reſt of thy life: for I perceive thou wilt no more, like an honeſt man, put thy ſelf in danger*

ger in the Wars, as formerly thou haſt done, becauſe now thou art grown rich and wealthy.

Though *Epaminondas* was thus virtuous, and unblameable in his life, yet the aforementioned *Meneclides* would never ceaſe contending, and reproaching of him: and one day he went ſo far as to upbraid him becauſe he had no children, and was not married, and that he magnified himſelf more than ever King *Agamemnon* had done. To this *Epaminondas* anſwered, Thou haſt nothing to do to counſel me to marry, and in this reſpect, there is never a man here whoſe adviſe I would leſs make uſe of than thine (and this he ſpake becauſe the other was taken notice of to be an Adulterer) And whereas thou thinkeſt that I envy the fame and renown of *Agamemnon*, thou art fowly deceived. Yet let me tell thee, that whereas he was ten years in winning one City, I on the contrary, by putting the *Lacedemonians* to flight in one day, have delivered not onely our own City, but all *Greece* from their ſlavery. But thanks be to you? My Lords *Thebans* (ſpeaking to all the Aſſembly) by your aſſiſtance I did it, and thereby overthrew the power and government of our inſulting enemies.

His prudence.

Yet after all his brave deeds, both he and *Pelopidas* were ill rewarded for all their good ſervice, by their ingratefull Citizens: For at their return from *Laconia*, they, with ſome other of the ſix Counſellers, were accuſed, that after the time that their Government was expired, they retained their power four months after the time appointed by the Law. With much ado *Pelopidas* was quitted: But *Epaminondas* willed all his other Companions to lay the fault upon him, who by his Authority forced them to it; and inſtead of excuſing himſelf, he told them all the brave exploits which he had done at that time: Adding withall, that he was willing and ready to die, if they ſo pleaſed, Provided that they wrote upon his Tomb, that *Epaminondas* was put to death, becauſe he had compelled the *Thebans* againſt their wills to burn the Country of *Laconia*, which in five hundred

He is accuſed and abuſed.

dred years before had never been plundered. That he had repeopled the City of *Messina* with Inhabitants, two hundred and thirty years after it had been laid waſt by the *Lacedemonians*. That he had brought all the people and Towns of *Arcadia* to be as one Body, in League together, and had ſet all the *Greeks* at liberty: and all theſe things (ſaid he) we did in that Journey. The Judges when they heard this worthy and true defence, they all aroſe from their ſeats, and laughed heartily, and would not take up their Balls to Ballot againſt him.

But for the ſecond accuſation, to wit, that he had ſhewed favour to the *Lacedemonians* for his own particular honour, he would make no particular anſwer to it before the People, but riſing out of the Theater, he paſſed through the Aſſembly and went into the Park of Exerciſes. Upon this the people being incenſed againſt him, refuſed to chuſe him into Office as they had wont to do, though there was great need of him, and Created other Counſellers to go into *Theſſaly*: and the more (as they thought) to deſpite him, they commanded him to go that expedition as a private Souldier, which he refuſed not, but went very willingly.

Pelopidas being ſent a ſecond time into *Theſſaly* to make peace between the people and *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres*, was by this Tyrant (not regarding that he was an Ambaſſadour, and a *Theban*) committed to priſon, together with *Iſmenias*. Upon this, the *Thebans* being juſtly offended, ſent an Army of eight thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe againſt him, howbeit under the conduct of unskillfull Captains, who, wanting judgement to uſe their advantages, thought good to return home without doing any thing: But as they went back *Alexander*, being ſtronger in Horſe than they, preſſed hard upon their Reer, killing ſome, and wounding others; ſo that the *Thebans* knowing neither how to go forward nor backward, were in great diſtreſſe; and that which aggravated their miſery was, that their victuals were

Pelopidas impriſoned by a Tyrant.

were almoſt ſpent. Being thus almoſt out of hope ever to get home in ſafety, *Epaminondas* being at that time a common Souldier amongſt the Foot, both the Captaines and Souldiers earneſtly intreated him to help to redreſſe this diſorder. He thereupon choſe certaine Footmen that were light armed, and all the Horſmen, and with theſe putting himſelf into the Rere of the Army, he ſo luſtily repulſed the Eenemy, that the reſt of the Army afterwards marched in great ſafety, and ſtill making Head, as occaſion ſerved, and keeping his Troops in good order, he at laſt brought them all well home. His Policy.

This brave Act Crowned him with new Glory, confounded his enemies, and made him well ſpoken of every where, and by it he obtained the love and good-will of the Citizens, who ſet great Fines upon the heads of thoſe Captaines who had behaved themſelves ſo unworthily in that expedition. And now the People ſeeing that by ſo many worthy deeds he had ſtoped the ſlanderous mouths, aud confuted the accuſations of his ill willers, they choſe him again their Captain Generall to conduct a new Army into *Theſſaly*: At his coming all the Country wonderfully rejoyced, only the Tyrant with his Captaines, and Friends were exceedingly dejected, and poſſeſſed with feare, being Thunderſtruck with the fame of ſo Noble a Captaine, and his ſubjects had a good mind to riſe up againſt him, hoping that they ſhould ſhortly ſee the Tyrant fully recompenced for all the wicked and curſed deeds that he had done amongſt them.

Epaminondas when he came into *Theſſaly*, preferred the ſafety and deliverance of his Friend *Pelopidas* before his own honour and Glory, and fearing leſt *Alexander* when he ſhould ſee himſelf and his State in danger to be overthrown, ſhould in his rage revenge himſelf upon *Pelopidas*, he therefore purpoſly drew this War out in length, marching often about him, but never ſetting upon him in good earneſt, often ſeeming to make preparations, His Prudence.

and yet ſtill delaying: and this he did, to mollify the heart of this Tyrant, and not to provoke (to the danger of his Friend) the inhumane and unbridled paſſion of this cruel Bloudſucker. Yet he being a Monſter compounded of cruelty, and cowardlineſſe, was ſo afraid of the very name and reputation of *Epaminondas*, that he preſently ſent ſome to him to excuſe his fact, and to crave Peace. But *Epaminondas* was not willing that his *Thebans* ſhould make Peace and Alliance with ſo wicked a man, only he was content to grant him a Truce for thirty Dayes, upon the delivering to him *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias*.

Pelopidas releaſed.

So with them he returned back to *Thebes*, and alwayes continued a faithfull Friend to *Pelopidas* ſo long as they lieved together: Yet would he never ſhare with him in his Riches, but did ſtill perſeveare in his former ſtrict poverty and Diſcipline. He was very bold, and yet it was mingled with a winning ſweetneſſe and a livly grace, as may appear in ſundy Examples. Beſides his bold ſpeech to *Ageſilaus*, mentioned before: At another time the *Argians* having made a League with the *Thebans*, the *Athenians* ſent their Ambaſſadors into *Arcadia*, to ſee if they could gain the *Arcadians* to be their Friends. And theſe Ambaſſadors began roundly and hotly to charge and accuſe both the one and the other, and *Calliſtratus* ſpeaking for them, reproached them with *Oreſtes*, and *Oedipus*: *Epaminondas* being preſent at that Aſſembly, ſtood up, and ſaid, *My Lords, we confeſſe that in times paſt we had a man that killed his Father, and in* Argos, *one that killed his Mother, but as for us now, we have baniſhed all ſuch wicked murtherers out of our Country, and the* Athenians *have intertained them.*

His witty ſpeeches.

At another time when the *Spartans* had laid many great and grievous imputations to the charge of the *Thebans*, he ſaid, *If they have done nothing elſe, my Lords of* Sparta, *yet at leaſt they have made you forget*

to ſpeak little. But that which was moſt excellent, and obſervable in *Epaminondas*, and which indeed did ſtop the mouth of envy it ſelf was his moderation, and temperance, knowing how to uſe any ſtate or condition, and never to rage either againſt himſelf or others, alwayes bearing this mind, that howſoever they took him, and in what place ſoever they ſet him, he was well contented, ſo that he might but advance the good of his Country: As may appear by this Example: on a time his evil-willers, thinking to bring him into diſgrace, and meerly out of ſpite, made him ſuperintendant or overſeer of all the cuſtoms, whilſt others of his inferiors, unworthy to be compared with him, were placed in the moſt honourable Offices: Yet deſpiſed he not this meane Office, but diſcharged it very Faithfully: For (ſaid he) *the Office or Authority ſhewes not only what the man is, but alſo the man what the Office is.* His Humility.

Shortly after *Epaminondas* was returned out of *Theſſaly*, the *Arcadians* were overcome by *Archidamus* and the *Lacedemonians*, who in the fight loſt not a man, and therefore they called this journey the *tearleſſe Battel*: and *Epaminondas* forſeeing that the *Arcadians* would yet have another ſtorme, he gave them counſel to fortifie their Towns, which they did accordingly, and built that City which afterwads was called *Megalopolis*, ſituated in a very convenient place. *Megalopelis* built. Whilſt the *Thebans* made War with the *Elians*, their neighbours, the minde of *Epaminondas* was alwayes lifted up to high enterprizes for the good of his Country, wherefore in an Oration which he made to his Citizens, he preſwaded them to make themſelves ſtrong by Sea, and to endeavour to get the principality, and to make themſelves the Lords thereof. This Oration was full of lively reaſons whereby he ſhewed and proved unto them, that the enterpize was both honourable, and profitable, which he made out by ſundry Arguments, telling them that it was an eaſy thing for them, who were now the ſtronger by Land, to make themſelves alſo the

ſtronger by Sea: and the rather, for that the *Athenians* in the War againſt *Xerxes*, though they had armed and ſet forth two hundred Gallyes, armed and well appointed with men, yet they willingly ſubmitted themſelves to the *Lacedemonians*. He alleadged many other reaſons, whereby he prevailed ſo far, that the *Thebans* were willing to undertake the enterprize, and thereupon gave preſent order to build an hundred Gallies, and an Arſenall with ſo many rooms that they might lay them under covert in the Dock: They ordered alſo to ſend to them of *Rhodes*, and of *Chio*, and of *Byzantium*, to deſire their furthrance in this enterprize: for which end *Epaminondas* was ſent with an Army unto theſe Cities: In his paſſage he met with *Leches*, a Captain of the *Athenians*, with a number of Ships in his Fleet, who was ſent on purpoſe to hinder this deſigne of the *Thebans*: Yet *Epaminondas* ſo affrighted him, that he made him retire back again, and holding on his courſe he brought the aforenamed Cities to enter into League with the *Thebans*. Shortly after the *Thebans* fell out with the City of *Orchomene*, which had done them great hurt, and miſchiefe, and having won it by aſſault, ſlew all the men that were able to bear Armes, and made all the women and children Slaves.

The *Thebans* build a Navy.

Some time after the death of *Pelopidas*, certain private Perſons of *Mantinea*, fearing to be called to an account for their bad behaviours, and robberies which they had committed, if the *Arcadians* and *Elians* ſhould agree, they ſo brought it about, that they raiſed a new quarrel in the Country, which was divided into two Factions, whereof the *Mantineans* were the chief on the one ſide, and the *Tageates* on the other. This quarrel went ſo far, that the Parties would needs try it by Armes. The *Tageates* ſent to requeſt aid of the *Thebans*, who accordingly choſe *Epaminondas* their Captain Generall, and ſent him with a good number of men of War to aid the *Tageates*. The *Mantineans* being terrified with this aid that came out

New Wars.

of *Bœotia* to their enemies, and at the reputation of their Captain, they immediatly sent to the *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians*, the greatest enemies of the *Bœtians*, for their assistance, which both the Cities granted. Upon this there fell out many and great skirmishes in diverse parts of *Peloponnesus* : and *Epaminondas* being not far off from *Mantinea*, understood by some of the Country men, that *Agesilaus*, and his *Lacedemonians*, were come into the Field, and that they wasted all the Territories of the *Tageates*; whereupon, judging that there were but few men left in the City of *Sparta* to defend it, he undertook a great exploit, and dangerous, and had certainly effected it, if the marvelous good Fortune of *Sparta* had not hindred it. His designe was this: He departed from *Tegea* by night, the *Mantineans* knowing nothing of it, and taking a by way, he had certainly surprised *Sparta* without striking a stroak, had not a Post of *Candia* speedily carried word of it to *Agesilaus*, who immediatly dispatched away an Horsman to give intelligence to them of *Sparta* to stand upon their guard, and he himself speedily hasted after, and arrived there a little before the coming of the *Thebans*, who being very near the City a little before day, they gave an assault to them that defended it. This made *Agesilaus* to bestir himself wonderfully, even beyond the strength of so old a man: But his Son *Archidamus*, and *Isadas*, the Son of *Phœbidas* fought valiantly on all parts. *Epaminondas* seeing how prepared the *Spartanes* were to oppose him, began then to suspect that his design was discovered; yet notwithstanding he left not off to force them all he could, though he fought with great disadvantage, considering the places wherein he was: yea, he continued fighting courageously, till the Army of the *Lacedemonians* came on, and till the night approached, whereupon he sounded a retreat.

A notable atchi pt.

Then being informed that the *Mantineans* came on also with their forces, he withdrew his Army somewhat farther off from the Town, and there Camped. After which

which he cauſed his men to refreſh themſelves with victuals, and leaving certain Horſemen in the Camp, he commanded them to make fires in the morning, and in the mean ti me himſelf with the reſt of his men, went to ſurprize *Mantinea* before any ſhould diſcover that he was departed. Yet herein alſo he failed of his purpoſe, the proſperity of the *Thebans* being come to its height, and the courſe of *Epaminondas* his Life drawing neer to an end, whereby *Greece* was deprived of this Noble and famous Captain, from whom was taken a moſt notable Victory, and that twice, by ſtrange accidents.

An other but fruſtrated.

For at the ſecond time, when he was come neer to *Mantinea* that was left without guard and defence, juſt then, on the other ſide of the Town there arrived ſix thouſand *Athenians*, conducted by their Captain *Hegeleus*, who having put ſufficient force into the Town, ordered the reſt of his Army in Battel array without the Walls, and immediatly alſo came the *Mantineans*, and *Lacedemonians* together, who prepared to put all to the hazard of a Battel, and therefore ſent for their Allies from all parts: and when they were come together they were in all twenty five thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. The *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, and their partakers were thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe. When they came to the Battel, firſt the Horſe charged with great fury, and the Horſmen of the *Athenians* encountering with the *Thebans*, proved too weak for them, not becauſe they were leſſe valiant, or hardy than the other, but becauſe they had not ſo good Chieftains, and had few Archers amongſt their Troops. The *Thebans* on the other ſide were all excellently well appointed, and had *Theſſalians* amongſt them, men very skilfull in their Bowes, who ſo plyed the *Athenians* that they wholly brake them, and put them to the rout, yet in their flight they did not run amongſt their Footmen, which made them ſomewhat recover their Honour which they had loſt by running away. On the contrary

A Battel.

contrary part, as they fled, they met with some Companies of *Negropont*, whom the *Arcadians* had sent to take in certain Hills hard by the plain where the Battel was fought, whom they put all to the Sword.

The men at Arms of the *Thebans* seeing them turn their backs, did not pursue them at all, but presently gave charge upon a great Battalion of Footmen, forcing them all they could to break, and run through them. So the fight was very cruel and sharp, yet in the end the *Athenians* were forced to quit the place: whereupon a Collonel of Horsemen of the *Elians*, who stood as a reserve to guard the Rere, defended them, and encountering with the *Bœotians*, he resisted them, and made them give back, which reinforced the fault of the left point of their Army. But in the right point, after the Horsemen had charged one another, the fight was soon determined: For by reason of the great number of men at Armes of the *Thebans*, and *Thessalians*, the *Mantineans* and their partakers were soon put to rout, and haveing lost a great number of their men, they sheltered themselves under the Battalion of their Footmen, and this was the issue of the fight between the Horsemen.

As for the infantry, after they came once to the Sword, it was a marvellous bloody, and cruel fight. For never before that time was there so many Greeks in the Field one against another, nor so great and expert Captains, nor such valiant Souldiers as were now. The two Nations that at that time bare the name to be the bravest Footmen in all the world, to wit, the *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, were now set in Front one against the other, and they began to charge, neither sparing Life nor limb. The first charge they gave was with their Pikes, which being soon broken with the huge blows they gave each other, then they came to it with their Swords, and lustily laying about them, Body to Body, Death raged in every place, and there was a mighty carnage made: for neither part shrunk back, or

gave

gave over with wearineſſe, but ſtood to it like undaunted men. And ſo continued this dangerous Fight for a long time, by reaſon of the valiantneſs of either party, the victory ſtood doubtfull for a great while, and it could not be judged which ſide was like to have the upper hand. For every one that fought, had this reſolution in his heart, not to fear Death whatſoever befell them: But rather deſiring to make proof of their utmoſt Valour, they willingly parted with their lives to lye in the Bed of Honour. By reaſon whereof, though the fight was ſharp and cruel, yet the event remained for a long ſpace ſo uncertain, that it could not be diſcerned to which ſide the Victory ſhould fall

But at laſt, *Epaminondas* ſeeing no other remedy, but that the iſſue of this doubtfull fight depended upon his own virtue and valour, he reſolved with himſelf to adventure his life upon it: and preſently gathering about him all the beſt, and choiſeſt men of his Army, and of them having compounded a Company of ſtout and reſolute Blades, he ran with great fury into the thickeſt, and greateſt preſs of all his enemies, marching himſelf the foremoſt man in all his Troop, with a Spear in his hand, with the which at the firſt blow he gave, he ſlew the Captain of the *Lacedemonians*, and ſtraightway the reſt of his company began to aſſail their enemies. But *Epaminondas* laying about him like a Lion, ſlew ſo many in the place where he ſtood with his own hands, that at laſt he opned the Battel of the *Lacedemonians*, whom he purſued & laid on them ſo luſtily, that they being unable any longer to defend themſelves againſt ỹ irriſtable fury of himſelf and his followers, were enforced to give back and leave the place to the *Bœotians*, who yet followed them at their heels, beating them down ſo eagerly, that in a ſhort ſpace the whole Field was covered with dead Bodies, lying on heapes one upon another.

But in the end, the *Lacedemonians* ſeeing that they could no way ſave themſelves, gathered courage out of deſpair, and a Company of them joyning together, all

ſet

ſet upon *Epaminondas*, throwing an infinite number of Darts at him, of which ſome he avoided, others he received upon his Target, but yet there were many that ſtuck in his Body which he pulled out, and fought with the ſame weapons againſt thoſe that had thrown them at him. At laſt, when he had done more than a man, and beyond all humane ſtrength, thereby to win Honour to his Country by gaining them the victory, a certain *Laconian* called *Anticrates*, thruſt him into the breaſt with a Dart with ſuch force, as breaking the wood, he left the iron Head ſticking in his Body. Having received this deadly wound, he fell immediately to the ground: But then was there a more cruel fight about him than ever there was before, which occaſioned great ſlaughter on both ſides, till the *Thebans* by fine force made their enemies to flie for their lives, and when they had purſued them a while, they returned back to their Camp that they might keep the dead Bodies in their power, which was a certain ſigne that the victory was theirs, and then they ſounded a retreat, and ſo the Battel ended.

He is deadly wound d.

Both ſides challenged the victory and made Triumphs for it. The *Lacedemonians* did it, becauſe the *Athenians* had ſlain thoſe of *Negropont* that were ſent to ſeize upon the Hils before mentioned, and kept their Bodies in their power. The *Thebans* on the other ſide having overcome the *Spartans*, had the Bodies of them that were ſlain in the Battel, in their power, which was by far the greater number, wherefore they ſaid, that they were the Victors. Thus both ſtanding upon their tearms, it was a good while before either would ſend a Trumpet or Herauld to the other for leave to bury their dead. Yet at laſt the *Lacedemonians* ſent firſt, and then they all betook themſelves to give the dead an Honourable Burial. And as for him that had killed *Epaminondas*, he was highly eſteemed and honoured for his valiant act, and the *Lacedemonians* gave him many rich Preſents, and made him and his Poſterity free from

The *Spartans* beaten.

all publick Taxes and contributions in the Commonwealth.

As for *Epaminondas* he was brought yet alive into his Tent; how beit his Physitians, and Surgeons being called together to dresse his wounds, they all concluded that so soone as they plucked the head of the Dart out of his Body, he must needs die. And truly he made a most noble and worthy end. For first he called for his Target-bearer, who was alwayes at his hand in the Battel, and asked him: *Is my Target safe?* He brought it strait. Then he asked, *who had the Victory?* The *Bœotians* answered, the Target-bearer. Then he commanded them to bring to him *Diophantus* and *Jolidas*: they told him they were both dead: Upon this he advised his Citizens to make Peace with their enemies, for that they had not any Captain of skill to lead them to the Wars. *And now* (said he) *it is time for me to die, and therefore pluck the Dart Head out of my Body.* At this word all his Friends that were about him fetched grievous sighs, and even cryed out for sorrow: and one of them weeping, said unto him: Alas *Epaminondas!* Thou diest now and leavest no Children behind thee: *Yea* (said he) *that I do: For I leave two faire Daughters behind me, whereof the one is the Victory at* Leuctres *and the other, this of* Mantinea. So they pulled out the Dart, and immediatly he gave up the Ghost, without shewing any signe that he was at all troubled at it.

His advice to the *Thebans.*

His death.

He used often to say, *That War is the Bed of Honour, and that it is a sweet Death to dye for ones Country.* He was one of the bravest Captaines that ever we read of: For whereas others excelled in some one or two Virtues by which they made their Fame great and glorious, he excelled in all the Vertues and good Parts that could be desired in a Grave, Politick and Great Captain, to make him compleat in all things that could be expected in an Heathen. In his time he advanced his Country to the Principality of all

His character.

Greece

Greece. But after his Death they ſoon loſt it: and not long after *Alexander* the *Great*, utterly brake them in peices, made ſlaves of thoſe that ſurvived, and razed their City to the very ground. As in his life time he had alwayes deteſted covetouſneſs, ſo after his Death the *Thebans* were faigne to bury him at the common charge of the City, becauſe they found no mony in his houſe to defray the leaſt part of the Funerall expences.

FINIS.

Courteous Reader, be pleased to take notice that these Books following, are Printed for, and sold by *William Miller*, at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door.

Hickes Revelation, Revealed, *Folio.*

Clarkes Martyrology Compleat, with the Persecutions of *England* to the end of Queen *Maries* Reign, *Folio.*

— Lives of ten Eminent Divines, some being as follow; Bishop *Usher*, Dr *Gouge*, Dr *Harris*, Mr *Gataker*, Mr *Whittaker*, &c. and some other famous Christians.

— Life of *Christ*, 4°

— Life of *Herod* the Great, 4°

—Life of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Cyrus* the Great; the one, the first founder of the *Baylonian* Empir, the other, the first founder of the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, 4°

— Life of *Alexander* the Great the first founder of the *Grecian* Empire, As also of *Charles* the Great, commonly called *Charlemagne*, the first founder of the *French* Empire, 4°

—A Prospect of *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, together with an account of the qualities of the Inhabitants, the Commodities of the Countries, the Chiefest Cities, Towns, and Strong-holds, Rivers, and Mountains, with an Historycal Narration of the Wars amongst themselves, and with the *Turks*, continued to this year 1664. As also a Brief Description of *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *Steirmark*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Moravia*, and other Adjacent Countries, contained in a Map joyned therewith, by which Map you may know which Places are in the Power of the *Turk*, and which Christians have, 4°

Cradock's KNOWLEDGE and PRACTICE; Or, a Plain Discourse of the Chief Things necessary to be KNOWN, BELIEVED, and PRACTISED in Order to SALVATION, 4°

Ford, of Baptism, 8°

Cotton, on the Covenant of Grace, 8°

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Ravius Oriental Grammer, 12°

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Dr *Tuckney's* Good Day well Improved, 12°

— Death Disarmed, 12°

— Balm of Gilead, 12°

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